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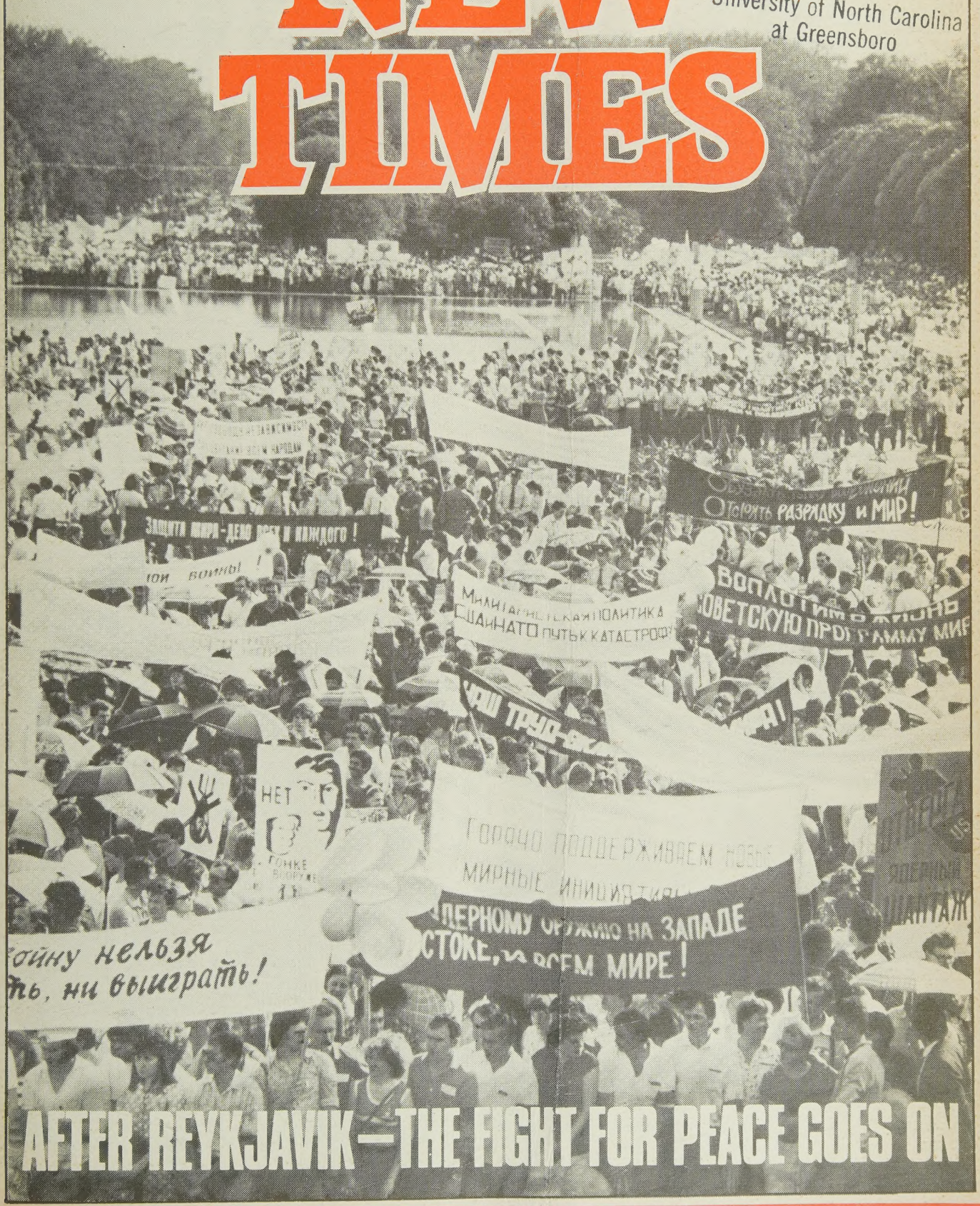
NEW TIMES



AFTER REYKJAVIK—THE FIGHT FOR PEACE GOES ON

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1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

The first attempt to create a large-scale peace movement was made in the troubled summer of 1932. A peace campaign was launched in Europe in response to a call by the distinguished humanists Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. The French writers' suggestion that a world antiwar congress be convened was supported by Maxim Gorky of Russia, Heinrich Mann and Albert Einstein of Germany, Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair of the United States, Bertrand Russell of Britain, Sen Katayama of Japan and by hundreds of thousands of people the world over.

The congress opened in Amsterdam on August 27. Attended by 2,200 delegates from 29 countries and hundreds of guests, it pondered ways of stopping fascism, of preventing a world conflagration. Communists and Social Democrats, bourgeois democrats, Christians, pacifists and people of no political affiliation joined hands on the antiwar platform. The Soviet delegation, denied entry visas by the Netherlands government, addressed the congress over the radio.

Closing the congress, Henri Barbusse said: "Its virtue lies in having brought the war issue down to earth in terms of the blood of human beings."

The congress formed the world antiwar committee composed of Henri Barbusse, John Bernal, Maxim Gorky, Romain Rolland, Sen Katayama, Yelena Stasova, Clara Zetkin, Albert Einstein. What names! What a powerful goodwill potential!

A trade union conference, a women's conference, meetings of peasant delegates, pacifists, young people, writers and doctors were held simultaneously with the congress. They said a resolute No to war, rejected the malicious lies about "Red imperialism," and spoke highly of the Soviet land's peaceableness.

Following the Amsterdam meeting, international antiwar congresses were held in Chicago, Paris and Brussels. In May 1939—on the eve of World War II—a world conference for peace, democracy and socialism was held, attended by delegates from 25 countries.

In those bygone years the peace forces proved unable to prevent fascism from unleashing war—largely through the fault of those who ignored the appeal of the 7th Comintern Congress to patch up the rift in the working people's ranks and who blocked efforts to build a united popular front against fascism and war. Mankind paid dearly for that. We have no moral right to forget the tragic lessons of those years.

(See issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, 30, 33, 37 and 40 for the previous stories in the series tracing the history of antiwar ideas and the struggle for peace.)

Waldo Frank, Ilya Ehrenburg and Henri Barbusse seated in the presidium of the 1st World Congress of writers in defence of culture. Paris, 1935.

The German antifascist artist John Heartfield (1891-1968) was in the front ranks of the antiwar movement. The caption to his photoposter reproduced here reads: "Do you want to fall in battle so that the shares would rise!" (1932)

BIZARRE HUMOUR

"I think the peace movement should become the best of friends of Ronald Reagan," U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said some days ago. That remark could very well earn him two prizes at once--for the quip of the week and the quip of the year.

Quip of the week because in a sense it summed up the President's performance in Reykjavik. It will be recalled that although in the evening of October 12, immediately after the summit ended, the Secretary of State was highly pessimistic in his appraisals, the following morning, after "a night's sleep," as he put it himself, he was in a jubilant mood. There are, however, other appraisals that strike us as being far more realistic.

"It is tragic that 'star wars' wrecked the whole thing at the last minute," Denis Healey, the British Labour shadow Foreign Secretary, commented.

Former U.S. Defence Secretary James R. Schlesinger observed that the U.S. missed the chance of a generation.

The very idea of a friendship springing up between Mr Reagan and the peace movement strikes us as grotesque, both this week and at any time.

How could a President who has so often voiced disdain for the fighters for peace and equated their activity with subversion, who sees behind every anti-war demonstrator the insidious hand of the Communists, and for whom even the million-strong meeting in New York Central Park was the work of invisible Reds--how could such a man conceivably be a friend of peace supporters?

And it is not only a matter of ideological distrust. Actions are the watershed.

A policy so geared to military might that even missiles are called "peacekeepers" and a submarine has been named the Corpus Christi cannot be on amicable terms with people who see in the fight for détente and disarmament their purpose in life.

A policy pivoted on nuclear explosions cannot be expected to be supported by people who demand their termination.

A policy aimed at squandering the nation's resources on the deadly "star wars" illusion cannot be acceptable to those who want tranquility to reign over the earth.

A policy of continued arms build-up which owes its origins to the military-industrial complex cannot find supporters among the fighters for peace.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

●

As a war veteran I subscribe to the principled stand for peace our leader made at the Reykjavik summit. I agree with Mikhail Gorbachev that the American side is missing a historic chance of reaching an agreement, at last, on banning nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the head of the White House proved unprepared to deal with cardinal problems in earnest in Reykjavik. The U.S. leadership depends too much on those who profit by the arms race. Nevertheless I hope that Washington will listen to reason after all. I believe, and I do hope, it will.

N. KALITIN
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

●

The earth bearing a deadly burden.... As I looked at your cover picture for issue No. 38, 1986, I couldn't help thinking that even a limited nuclear conflict might prove fatal for the planet we live on.

Some liken the earth to a bird's egg, and this is very apt. The thickness of the earth's crust is proportional to that of an egg's shell, the breaking of which is easy to accomplish. This gives an idea of how fragile the earth is.

N. KOROVYAKOV
Tula, U.S.S.R.

●

Your publication always tells the truth and is free of the slander and lies found in certain Western periodicals. People are fed up with the frenzied anti-communist propaganda; they want direct and honest answers to the burning questions of today —and find these answers in your magazine. It is for this reason, I think, that it has found so many new readers in my country.

Bah DAKITE
Nioro, Mali

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS · NEUE ZEIT · nová doba · TEMPI NUOVI · TEMPOS NOVOS

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COVER:
Peace march in Moscow.
Photo by B. Zadvil

WHAT WAS LACKING FOR A "GREAT COMPROMISE"

Why did the Soviet Union make such big concessions in Reykjavik? Is it because the Americans are afraid of being "deceived" that they refuse to abandon SDI? Who is to blame for the fact that no concrete agreements were signed in Reykjavik?

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TAKING UP A POINT

Does the problem of drug addiction exist in the U.S.S.R., asks Catherine Kelly of Scotland....

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THE LESSONS OF STOCKHOLM

Head of the Soviet delegation Oleg Grinevsky tells us how the final document of the Stockholm conference was worked out.

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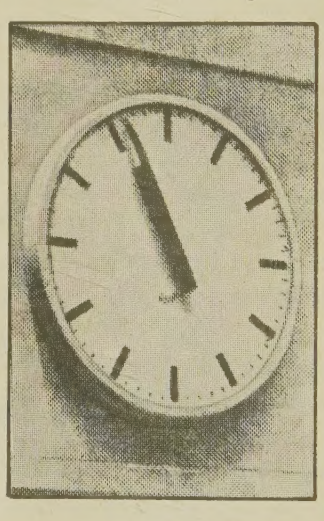

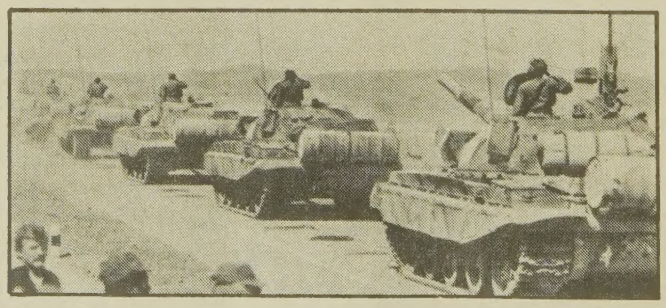

GOING HOME

Our special correspondent in Afghanistan writes about the return home of six Soviet regiments.

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IS MAN THE MASTER OF NATURE?

Unless there is a new ecological thinking, we could be left with nothing but a desert....

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AN EMMY FOR PETER

The Soviet costume designer Ella Maklakova wins the American TV Academy's Emmy Award.

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Our special correspondents Vitaly Ignatenko and Alexander Lebedev report from Copenhagen where the World Congress dedicated to the International Year of Peace has just ended

STRUGGLE AND HOPE

"We shall overcome! We shall overcome!" The song filled the hall and overflowed to the rest of the Bella-Centret complex. Thousands of peace fighters joined in the mighty chorus which, led by the American singer Larry Long, could be heard everywhere.

The congress is over...

A speaker from Nicaragua has just been given a standing ovation.

The delegates signed the Copenhagen Appeal drawn up by prominent public figures from the Delhi Six countries. The appeal is laconic: end the arms race on earth, prevent its spread to outer space....

A placard saying "The Japanese delegation thanks all those who have supported the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki to eliminate nuclear weapons!" still reigns in the hall.

The congress is over.... Deserted and quiet, the Bella-Centret complex is an unfamiliar sight. Passions ran high, and heated discussions lasted for hours here.

Here is the enormous hall where tens of routes leading to all the rooms of the ultra-modern building had their start. This nerve centre of numerous thematic teach-ins, forums and special interest groups is a concentration of pavilions, and display stands set up by national delegations and international organizations. The hall is bedecked with hundreds of colourful anti-war posters, leaflets, tables, appeals—and simply notes like "Maria, I'm waiting for you in the youth club." Souvenirs, political literature, and photographs were sold here, with all the takings contributed to the congress fund.

The best room was given to the women's centre. They used to say in Thackeray's times that a war lays both men and women under tribute, only the former pay it in blood, and the latter in tears. A modern war will kill all indiscriminately.

The Soviet film "Dead Man's Letters" was shown in the largest hall. Its 600 seats proved too few to accommodate the audience the picture had drawn, and the "spillover" filled the aisles. After the show the actor Rolan Bykov answered questions. Actually, that was not merely a question-and-answer session but a talk—long, philosophical, human.

More than 60 specialized meetings were held in the framework of the congress programme, let alone talks in thematic centres and discussion groups. Jens Clausager, General Secretary of the Radical Liberal Party, president of the Danish preparatory committee, told us that over 1,800 delegates out of 2,500 registered ones had taken part in the discussions, disputes, information and experience exchanges.

"We are very pleased with the congress, it has surpassed all expectations," Hermod Lannung, president of the congress, told the concluding press conference. "We've had a broad discussion here which is to lead to more vigorous joint action. The seeds sown here are bound to yield a rich crop."

The Main Subject

During the congress an unusual questionnaire appeared in the club. It was striking for its size. More and more sheets, each a metre long, were added to it one after another; it was like a scroll being unrolled. Hardly a day passed without the sponsors pinning up new sheets. A huge paper roll built up towards the end of the congress.

The questionnaire contained just one phrase: "Stop nuclear tests!" The right-hand side was set apart for yes's, and left-hand side, for no's. The right-hand side was black with signatures, and on the left-hand side "Ronald Reagan" stood out against a white background in conspicuous solitude.

The youth questionnaire provided a graphic picture of the situation at the congress. The Reagan Administration's stand came under fire from all sides there.

On the very first day of the congress, the members of the Soviet and American delegations held a joint press conference. Some of its participants had just arrived from Reykjavik and shared their impressions. Notably, representatives from entirely different American organizations unanimously laid the blame for the failure of the Soviet-American summit on President Reagan (Arden Cummings, executive director, Women for a Meaningful Summit committee, David Cortright, executive director, Citizens for a Sane Nuclear Policy movement, James Bush, associate director, Centre for Defence Information, an ex-submarine captain, to name a few).

West Europeans also made themselves heard loud and clear at the congress. They drew their own conclusions from the Reykjavik summit.

"Reagan's obsession with the SDI idea was the main obstacle to the agreement on a radical nuclear arms cut," said Ernie Roberts, a British Labour MP.

Active in the anti-war movement for 60 years now, he recalled that back before World War II the British public had been told that the Soviet Union was No. 1 enemy. Although further developments showed who the real enemy was, the U.S.S.R. is still presented as one.

"I don't understand why Washington blocked an agreement in Reykjavik," said Marshall Costa Gomes, ex-President of Portugal. "It is clear that the Reagan Administration needs the SDI for the development and production of new-generation weapons. But isn't it sheer madness to doggedly seek military supremacy? The Soviet Union offers a realistic and concrete way out of the blind alley."

"Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals clearly show the way to nuclear disarmament," Mohammed Murad Ghaleb, Egypt's ex-Foreign Minister, told us. "If the 'star wars' project is discarded, truly radical reductions of strategic and tactical nuclear arms, and their elimination, will become possible. Curbing the conventional arms race will also become a more realistic proposition in this case. The developing countries are greatly interested in that. Hadn't a trillion dollars been wasted on arms production every year, many of the Third World's pressing problems could have been solved already today."

The congress was addressed, among others, by Steinunn Hardardottir, Chairman of the Icelandic Women's Union.

"Reagan is well familiar to us," she said. "We often see his face on our TV screens. As for General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, we didn't know him too well—but only until the moment he appeared in the live press conference telecast. Now he is in many Icelanders' hearts for ever. We have come to believe in him, in his thoughts and his

arguments. After Mikhail Gorbachev's address, confidence in the Soviet Union has risen to a new level here and, notably, the interest in the peace movement has grown."

The Reykjavik summit was in the centre of the congress' attention. The discussions at the congress have made it clear that the public is against the "star wars," that it wants the U.S. to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, demands a complete and universal ban on them and urges an early advance towards nuclear disarmament.

Why Today?

Five years ago the peace movement made public some statistics which pertain to military spending. They came as a shock to some people while leaving others totally cold. Here they are: in 1980, the munitions industry devoured $1.4 billion a day. This figure looks incredible next to another one: on the eve of the eighties mankind put an end, at last, to smallpox which had taken two million lives a year; this achievement cost world medicine a sum spent on arms manufacturing in five hours. Today war preparations swallow such sums every 2.5 hours.

Many delegates used expressive metaphors as they dwelt on the world's oversaturation with armament and on enormous military spending. "Each of those present in this hall sits on three tons of TNT—such is an average amount of nuclear explosives per earthling," a Danish delegate said. "If the money spent on military purposes is stacked up in one-dollar bills, the pile will reach the sun," was a French delegate's remark.

This gives one a graphic idea of astronomical military spending.

We are the first generation capable of destroying all life on earth, and we may prove to be the last generation. The choice is ours.

"Our efforts are the most important ones today. All the rest comes second!" Hermod Lannung, president of the World Congress, exclaimed at the plenary meeting. "It is our duty to bring home to each and all that the consequences of a nuclear war would be irreversible. Disarmament today is the only way to preserve civilization and mankind."

The speakers at the congress said that there is no task more important than that of removing the nuclear war threat. Carrying it out will furnish the key to the solution of other problems such as food, economic, energy, etc. Many of these problems of vital concern to all nations can be solved only by the joint efforts of all states. Hence the interconnection between disarmament and development.

As we attended the congress we, its delegates, keenly sensed the eagerness of people from 136 countries to fight for peace in all spheres of activity with redoubled energy, to regard peace not merely as an absence of war but as a fair and solely possible system of international relations.

Who's Against?

This trend of the congress met with resistance. It looked as if someone stage-managed a string of provocations at various levels, and in various moments of this forum.

Every morning and every evening, the delegates were "greeted" at the entrance to the Bella-Centret by placard-brandishing "envoys" from the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

A frank attempt to contaminate the atmosphere was made right on the opening day. A pair of musclemen hopped onto the stage all of a sudden and, right in front of the presidium table, unfurled a streamer reading: "This is a KGB Peace Congress." This brought an indignant murmur from the audience of 3,000 at first, which then erupted into shouts of "Fascists!", "Down with the CIA!". To the applause of the audience, Danish activists pulled the thugs off the stage and kicked them out.

Provocations were repeated to a similar scenario at the congress closing ceremony. Later it turned out that terrorists had found their way into the Bella-Centret using forged passes. Judging by some papers lost by the intruders in their flurry, the traces lead, in particular, to a conservative Danish youth organization. Some of the papers and leaflets found were of West German and British origin. The thugs had got tear-gas containers ready, too, but were not given a chance to use them.

The congress was worked against in a "subtler" and less conspicuous way as well. Attempts were made in the early stages, for instance, to create the impression that certain organizations had been barred from it.

A "Ukrainian peace committee" suddenly made its appearance out of the blue. True, it was not registered at first because no one could understand where this organization based in London—and, funnily, without a single Ukrainian in it—had come from. Nevertheless, the tender-hearted leaders of the Danish Socialist People's Party and of the No to Nuclear Weapons movement included the pseudo-Ukrainians (and a number of "dissidents" from some socialist countries) into their delegations. They were given a chance to speak at the press conference. When asked by newsmen about their concrete contribution to the fight against the nuclear threat and for disarmament, the self-styled "peace fighters" seemed to be taken aback, and a woman representative of the Czechoslovak Charter-77 confined herself to the complaint that her fiery speech had left the congress cold. True, these people's speeches passed unnoticed. After all, the congress was about ways to prevent a nuclear war and to bring about broad international cooperation, rather than to kindle ideological enmity.

Around the Press Centre

Accredited to the congress were 250-odd journalists representing Danish and foreign publications and agencies. Actually, there were more journalists—some were members of national delegations.

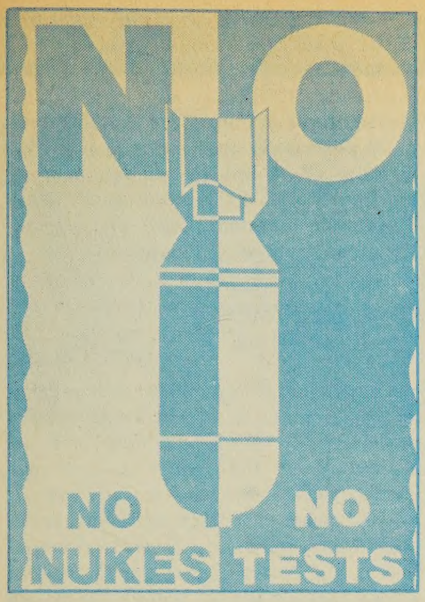
At the International Press Centre briefings and press conferences went on almost non-stop. We must say, for fairness' sake, that the papers sometimes carried balanced and even well-wishing comments. But then, as if afraid lest the pendulum should swing too far, some papers upped and started denigrating the congress. As for the leading Western news agencies and papers, they simply passed the congress over in silence.

The French journalist and writer Robert Escarpit (a onetime bitingly satirical political columnist of Le Monde, Paris) cited interesting facts in this connection. At his estimate, the French paper Libération (calling itself left-wing) had carried, last year, 70 analytical articles on the situation in Poland (the tone of which is easy to imagine), 10 on Africa, 8 on Lebanon, 2 on Nicaragua, two on the Iran-Iraq war, and none on the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Therefore, a statement by a large group of journalists who took part in the congress came as no surprise to anyone. They protested against its one-sided and biassed coverage by the Western press. The statement pointed out that such an attitude of the mass media to the congress was an obvious violation of the Helsinki Final Act's provisions as regards cooperation in the sphere of information.

Less than 5,000 Days

Mankind's dreams.... Tommaso Campanella, one of the greatest dreamers of all times, jailed by the Holy Inquisition,



envisioned the City of the Sun and modelled the society of the future....

People usually associate the future with the onset of the new millennium. Today the year 2000 is less than 5,000 days off.

Now we are confronted with a problem which Campanella could not have imagined even in a nightmare. Shall we survive at all? Is the very idea of man's existence in the 21st century a utopia?

Mankind's strength lies in its reason. It has always asserted itself through new thinking which took shape as a result of discoveries, spiritual revelations, heroic feats and progress.

Why is it that many are awakening to the nuclear age of ours at a snail's pace or even think in terms of the Dark Ages? The queer militarization of thinking is a grave illness. As Franklin Roosevelt once exclaimed, war is contagious, and an aggressor must be isolated. The virus of the disease is known to all. War is contagious, so fight for life, fight for peace!

On the closing day of the congress, Petya Savova, 12, from Bulgaria ascended to the stage. The youngest of the congress' 2,468 delegates crossed to the presidium and presented Hermod Lannung, president of the forum, with a bouquet of magnificent flame-coloured autumn flowers. It was a symbolic scene: Lannung, born in the 19th century, and Petya, destined to live and work in the 21st century, are contemporaries and comrades-in-arms today. This is a vivid example of the continuity of generations, of the people's everlasting aspirations for good.

Much to Be Done

The Copenhagen congress was a major event indeed. It reflected a new stage the anti-war movement had entered, and symbolized its new quality.

That was the first get-together latterly of so many rank-and-file activists of anti-war and anti-nuclear organizations who represented an extremely varied palette of political colours.

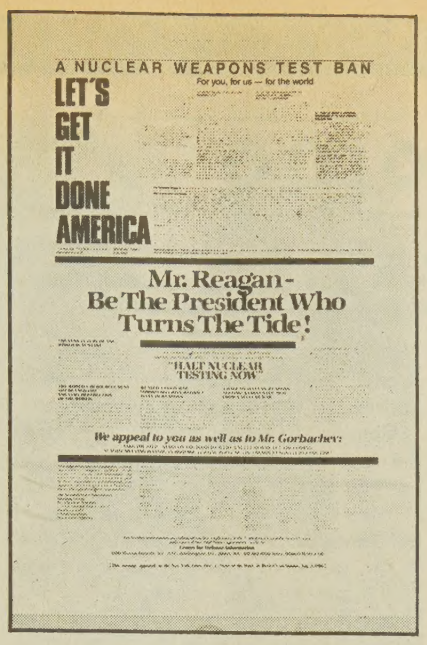
True, we heard remarks to the effect that the congress did not embrace all the political forces working in their countries for, say, an end to nuclear tests, for the freezing of nuclear arms, against spreading the arms race to outer space. Let's face it, this is true.

The American and other Western ultra-reactionaries are all out to prevent the broadening of the movement and to scare people away from it. The anti-communist and anti-Soviet instinct shows here, of course. All this did not prevent hundreds of obvious non-Marxists from attending the congress. It did not convert them to a new faith, but made them confident of their powers, of the anti-war movement's potentialities and, the main thing, of the need for resolute and urgent action.

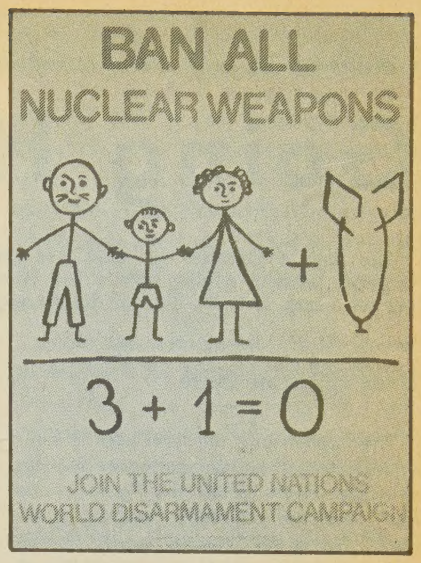
The congress convinced them that a political dialogue is necessary and possible, and that the form of this dialogue presupposes frank and free discussion.

The dialogue makes it possible to compare viewpoints so as to bring them closer together and to provide the groundwork for wide-scale joint action.

The dialogue draws a sharp line of distinction between those actually fighting for peace and disarmament and those who merely use anti-nuclear slogans as means towards strictly ideological ends.


A NUCLEAR WEAPONS TEST BAN
For you, for us — for the world
LET'S GET IT DONE AMERICA
Mr. Reagan - Be The President Who Turns The Tide!
"HALT NUCLEAR TESTING NOW"
We appeal to you as well as to Mr. Gorbachev:

The central paid advertisement placed in the New York Times by Scandinavian peace supporters is one of the many posters on Bella-Centret's walls. To the left is the Australian poster, to the right, the World Peace Council poster.



The congress enriched its participants and the movement as a whole with a great deal of political experience. It was sometimes referred to here as a world parliament of nations. In any case, it went a long way towards making such a parliament a reality: the next such meeting is certain to draw many of those who stayed away from this. As a result, the anti-war movement will not wax right—neither will those who keep aloof from it so far swing to the left. But then the public's capability to direct "big" politics peacewise will grow many times over.

The congress urged the anti-war forces to put forward new ideas and projects which could also be of help to governments in their quests for ways to stop the arms race. The Soviet leadership gives a good example by including in its programme of international security and disarmament many of the demands put forward by anti-war organizations.

The earth's political climate would have certainly become healthier if the other side followed suit.

At the same time, the socialist world's foreign policy often generates bolder initiatives than certain anti-war organizations do, and the fact that the latter take up these initiatives and act on them is not to be surprised at.

The Copenhagen congress has come to a close.... It gives food for serious thought about the role the peoples play in solving the cardinal problem—the problem of war and peace—and, the most important thing, it stimulates action.

Copenhagen

Going Home

The time is October 15, 1986, or Mizan 23, 1365, according to the Moslem calendar used in Afghanistan. A full Soviet tank regiment with all its materiel sets out for home. It is the first of the six regiments shortly to leave Afghanistan.

Back to Home Base

The Afghan city of Herat just 70 kilometres from the Iranian border has for centuries been called the "gem of the East" and the country's "western gateway." The great Oriental poets Abdarrakhman Jami and Alisher Navoi lived, worked and are buried there. Herat is still a major political, economic and cultural centre in Afghanistan. Throughout the country's long history the defence of Herat against foreign conquerors has always been considered a high priority. Defending the western Afghan borders was the task of this Soviet tank regiment stationed in the Shindand area south of the provincial centre.

Meeting the officers and men of the regiment it struck me more than once that they look older than their age. They confronted death. They got used to the whining of bullets, exploding rockets, mined roads, the hardships of army service in sweltering heat amid frequent sandstorms. One thing they could never get used to was the death of their friends and comrades who had fulfilled their internationalist duty to the last.

Army service proceeds according to regulations. The day of October 15 began as usual, but the servicemen in the tank regiment of the guards would remember it all their life. Early in the morning, as usual, the bugle sounded reveille. Morning exercises, washing up, breakfast. And yet one was aware of a kind of agitation in the way the soldiers and officers behaved. The regiment was to present itself in review not before its division but before the top Afghan leaders. Those who had distinguished themselves were to receive Afghan and Soviet awards from the hands of Nadjib, the General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and from the Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan Pavel Mozhayev. They were also aware that there would be journalists from different countries, including representatives of the Western media.

On a signal the regiment stands at attention in front of the combat vehicles. The regimental commander, Lieutenant Colonel Puzyrev, reports to the division commander, Major General Uchkin, that the regiment has been lined up. The general rises to the platform to join the Afghan leaders and deliver a farewell address to the departing servicemen.

General Secretary Nadjib then takes the floor to thank the internationalist fighting men.

"You came to us in the dark days of our republic. At stake was the survival of our revolution, the honour and pride of our people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Afghan state," he said. "We bow our heads in gratitude to you, the valiant sons of the country of Lenin, for everything you have done for the Afghan people and the April Revolution, for your courage, bravery, kindness and humanity.

"Today all the people of Afghanistan are seeing you off. The snow-clad summits and the green valleys, the cities and villages, every Afghan home is saying farewell to you. Stories of your valorous deeds will be passed from mouth to mouth, from father to son, from grandfather to grandson like legends. They will forever remain in the memory of our people."

About 70 soldiers and officers are given Afghan and Soviet decorations.

At last comes the long-awaited command to move off. The engines rev up. In a few minutes the 15-kilometre-long column of tanks and support vehicles heads towards the Soviet border.

On October 17 a motorized infantry regiment set out from the Kunduz area to its permanent base in the U.S.S.R. On October 19, an anti-aircraft regiment set out from Kabul. Before the month is out three more regiments will leave Afghanistan, as has been announced.

On Guard for the Revolution

As six Soviet regiments are leaving Afghanistan one can't help thinking back to December 1979 when these units arrived here. In those grim days in revolutionary Afghanistan I was an eyewitness of the thunderclouds thickening over the republic, counterrevolutionaries inside the country and the imperialist forces trying hard to tighten the noose around its neck. At stake were not only the early gains of the revolution, but the country's sovereignty and integrity and the security of the southern Soviet borders. In that difficult situation the U.S.S.R. responded to repeated requests from the Afghan leadership and moved a limited contingent of its troops into Afghanistan. There was a solid international law basis for the decision: the Soviet Union and Afghanistan were acting in accordance with the commitments they undertook under Article 4 of the treaty of friendship, good-neighbourliness and cooperation of December 1978, and at the same time proceeded from Article 51 of the U.N. Charter which gives the states the right to collective and individual self-defence.

What is the situation now? Will the Afghan armed forces be able to defend the cause of the April Revolution and the country's sovereignty now that the Soviet troop strength has been substantially cut?

These were the questions with which

An armoured column returning home.

Lt. Col. Puzyrev, commanding officer of an armoured regiment (left) and Lt. Col. Rudyuk (right), parting with Afghan Lt. Col. Laur Sifi (centre).

TASS photos

I began the talk with Colonel General Nazar Mohammad, alternate member of the PDPA Politbureau and defence minister of Afghanistan.

"The withdrawal of the six Soviet regiments has become possible because our country is not what it was in 1979," says Nazar Mohammad. "Political stabilization is making good headway. The social and political base of our revolution has broadened and strengthened noticeably, social and economic reforms and democratization of public life are under way. We have done much to improve the life of the peasants who constitute 90 per cent of the population. There is growing cooperation with the tribes. The draft of the constitution to be published shortly guarantees the rights to all the republic's citizens, as long as they intend to live honestly and abide by the law and work normally for the good of their country. All this won us the favour of the overwhelming majority of the population. Many former counterrevolutionaries are breaking with their ignominious past realizing the fallacy and futility of further struggle against the popular government. In the past 4 months alone 3,000 people have laid down their arms and surrendered, and talks are under way with 92 bands. The government bodies are engaged in a patient campaign of persuasion helping the people who had been lured into these bands to become aware of the meaning of the current developments. They are making contacts and negotiating with these groups in order to persuade them to give up meaningless struggle. A major factor in the success of this work is strict observance by the authorities of the terms of amnesty for those people who lay down their arms voluntarily.

Nazar Mohammad received me at the appointed hour in the massive defence ministry building in Dar ul-Aman Street. He greeted me as an old acquaintance. We first met 20-odd years ago when he was a young man, one of the first Afghans to finish an air force academy in the Soviet Union. He took an active part in the revolution. For several years he was head of the Afghan air force. About a year ago the PDPA appointed him minister of defence.

Speaking about the Afghan armed forces, Nazar Mohammad said: "Their combat power has greatly increased in recent years, their political level and discipline have improved. Equipped with modern weapons, respected by the people, the army is now carrying out combat operations on its own. These operations are increasingly offensive in character. In recent months our troops have routed major units and destroyed bandit bases in the Herat, Kabul and Paktia provinces, and in the Khost area. All this gives grounds for saying that our armed forces can rise to the task put before them by the PDPA of restoring peace and security and ending bloodshed in the country. Our people say that even if your enemy is only a jackal be ready to fight a tiger. We are ready to repel the onslaught of jackals even if they are backed by such enemies of our revolution as U.S.-led imperialists and the reactionary rulers of Pakistan and Iran."

"With the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan the Afghan army will take over many of their duties. What assistance will the remaining Soviet troops render to your country?"

"Basically it will remain the same. It is early as yet to speak about final victory over the counterrevolutionaries, so the units forming the limited Soviet contingent will, at our request, go on helping us in our operations against the bands sent in from Pakistan and Iran. They will help us protect communications, important economic installations, demine roads, fields, and residential areas, and join us in defending peaceful villages from the raids of the dushman bands.

"We hope that the constructive Soviet step, which was agreed with our government, could, given the good will of the other side, accelerate the political settlement in Afghanistan, give it a new impulse. Those who are organizing and perpetrating intervention against our country should give your country's move its due. But if the intervention continues we know that the Soviet Union will not leave us in the lurch as CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev made clear recently.

"In conclusion, I would like on behalf of the Afghan people and its army to express most sincere gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet government, the fraternal Soviet people and the internationalist fighters of the limited Soviet contingent in Afghanistan."

By the time this issue will be published, three Soviet regiments will have crossed the Afghan-Soviet border. They will enter Soviet territory at Kushka and Termez. The motherland will give a hero's welcome to its sons who have fulfilled their internationalist mission.

L. MIRONOV
our special correspondent

Herat-Kunduz-Kabul

U.S.S.R.—POLAND

Direct Contacts

● IN THE COURSE OF NIKOLAI RYZHKOV'S VISIT TO POLAND SEVERAL AGREEMENTS ON COOPERATION WERE SIGNED.

"The answers to the questions posed by life should be sought not outside socialism but in accordance with its principles, and using its advantages to the full," Nikolai Ryzhkov, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., said during his recent official friendly visit to Poland.

Under discussion in Warsaw were key questions of bilateral relations. Nikolai Ryzhkov and Zbigniew Messner, a member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, signed agreements on direct production, scientific and technical contacts, on the principles underlying the establishment of joint plants, and a number of other documents.

The Soviet-Polish agreements are based on similar objectives of the socio-economic reforms planned for the period of up to the end of the century. Poland seeks to become again one of the U.S.S.R.'s leading economic partners among socialist countries, and now the emphasis in our relations is being shifted from predominantly trade links to extensive specialization and co-production at plant and industry levels. Plans are afoot for forming mixed research groups called upon to develop new technology, for the organization of the joint tapping of raw material resources on our two countries' territories. (Poland is already taking part in building the gas pipeline which is to stretch from Yamburg to the Western border of the U.S.S.R.)

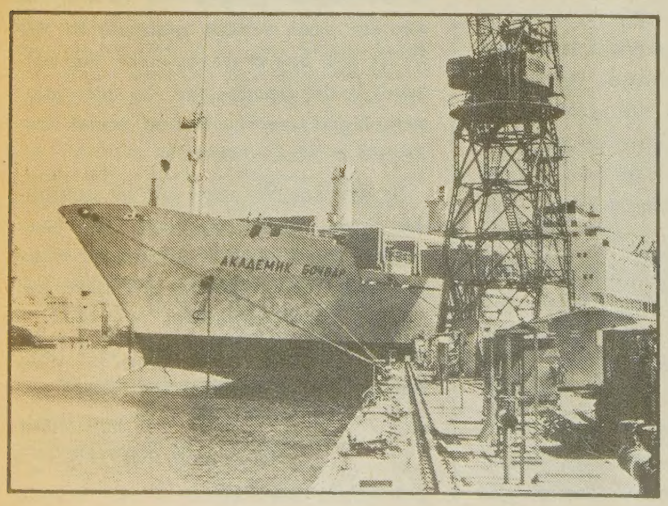
Poland's desire to balance out mutual trade turnover in the current five-year period met with understanding on the part of the Soviet side. Import from the U.S.S.R. is so far in excess of Polish export deliveries, but from now on this situation will be rectified. Production cooperation between Soviet and Polish plants will make it possible to reduce costly import from capitalist countries.

Late this October the Polish Sejm examined the draft economic development plan for 1986-90 and a number of other economic matters included in the new Soviet-Polish agreements.

B. KOZLOV

The Akademik Bochvar, a refrigerator ship built at the Gdansk's Lenin shipyards for the Soviet Union.

CAF-TASS photo



U.S.S.R.—ARGENTINA

Trust and Amity

● THAT WAS THE FIRST EVER VISIT BY THE HEAD OF ARGENTINIAN STATE TO THE U.S.S.R.

Raul Ricardo Alfonsin arrived in Moscow on the day following the end of the Soviet-American summit and received information on that major event at first hand. While talking with Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin he spoke highly of the responsibility the Soviet leadership had shown as regards the Reykjavik summit and its results.

It is gratifying that the U.S.S.R. and Argentina see eye to eye on many important issues pertaining to the prevention of a thermonuclear holocaust and ending the arms race. The Soviet Union noted the important positive role played by the Delhi Six in which Argentina takes an active part, primarily the efforts being made by this group of countries to have nuclear tests banned.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee called the attention of President of Argentina to the main points of the Soviet Union's policy based on the concept of a varied and integral world in which every country has the right to respect for the social and political system it has chosen. Much attention was paid to Latin American problems, particularly to the situation in Central America. Speaking of the pressure being brought to bear on Nicaragua and of outside interference in its internal affairs, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union had no egoistic designs on that country which had made its identical revolutionary choice. We respect and, naturally, have sympathy for it, but we are not going to impose anything on Nicaragua, to build military bases there—or elsewhere, for that matter. The U.S.S.R. supports the efforts of the Contadora group.

At the Moscow negotiations Ricardo Alfonsin said a formula should be sought for a stable settlement in Central America.

The participants in the negotiations supported the proposal to make the South Atlantic a zone of peace and cooperation.

There is no doubt that the visit paid to our country by the President of Argentina will give new impetus to the many-sided cooperation between our two countries. Such optimism would have been ungrounded some three or four years ago. However, the departure of the military from the Argentinian political scene in 1983 did not only open up a new stage in the country's domestic life but also had its effect on the relations between Argentina and other states. In their relationships the Soviet Union and Argentina can now go over from purely business deals to all-round and full-blooded cooperation and friendly contacts based on mutual trust and sympathy. A number of understandings were reached of late in the economic, cultural and scientific spheres and in the sphere of air transport. Exchanges in the fields of the cinema, education and sport are steadily growing in number. An agreement was signed recently on cooperation in the development of the fishing industry. A national exhibition of the U.S.S.R. will be conducted in Buenos Aires in the near future.

The President of Argentina declared for the promotion of Argentinian-Soviet economic links, for the introduction of new elements and forms of contacts, with due account taken of the intensive modernization of the Soviet industry in the coming years. This approach found support in Moscow, and concrete ideas on that score will be examined.

V. CHIRKOV

DEATH OF SAMORA MACHEL

He died in a plane crash on his way home from Lusaka, where with the presidents of Angola, Zambia and Zaire he had discussed problems connected with the bandit activity of the MNR and UNITA terrorist groups.

In Samora Machel Mozambique has lost a staunch patriot who fought for the freedom and happiness of his people.

Of the 53 years of his life nearly a quarter of a century was dedicated to the struggle for lofty ideals, for independence and its consolidation, for the rebuilding of society on the basis of social justice. He was a passionate fighter against imperialism and racism.

In foreign relations, Mozambique maintains close ties with the forces of peace and social progress. Samora Machel was awarded the International Lenin Peace Prize. He attached great importance to friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Quite recently, in March of this year, he was in our country and had talks with Soviet leaders on promoting cooperation between our two countries.

The death of Samora Machel is a loss not only for Mozambique but for all of its friends.

ISRAEL

Duet

● ISRAEL'S CHANGE OF PRIME MINISTER IMPLIES NO CHANGE IN ITS POLICIES.

A new government has been formed in Israel. To be more exact, the government is the same, but has a new prime minister to wit, Itzhak Shamir, leader of the right-wing Likud bloc who has now replaced Shimon Peres, leader of the Labour Party and the Mai bloc who held the office for 25 months. It will be remembered that during the Knesset elections in the summer of 1984 neither Mai nor Likud gained the majority. After much argument and protracted negotiation, the two rival blocs agreed in September 1984 to form a so-called national unity government and appoint Shimon Peres prime minister. Twenty-five months later, at halfway house to the new Knesset elections he was to hand over his powers to Itzhak Shamir. That is precisely what occurred in the middle of last month, when in keeping with the specified accommodations, Shimon Peres resigned, and Israeli President Chaim Herzog authorized Itzhak Shamir to form a new cabinet.

Itzhak Shamir was to have provided the Knesset, on October 14 yet, with his list of cabinet members, predictably a carbon copy of the Peres administration. But there was a hitch: although Itzhak Shamir has assumed the premiership, the leaders of the two blocs cannot agree as to whose representatives control key positions in Israel's economy.

In the Peres cabinet, this had been the responsibility of Likud ministers which had served to spark repeated government crises. The cabinet had stood on the brink of collapse ten times or so. Moreover, violent abuse was exchanged. Thus, Peres forced Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai to resign for his repeated personal abuse and trenchant censure. Shamir wanted to bring Modai back, but Peres was dead set against that. However, Shamir had his way. Nor did he yield to demands to appoint a close Peres' aide ambassador to the U.S. All this shows that future cooperation between the outgoing and newly appointed prime ministers is highly questionable. Other facts likewise indicate a still more troublesome "second phase" for the national unity government. Yet, one does not see any differences in principle between Mai and Likud, as throughout all previous 25 months their representatives joined ranks on a common government programme at home and abroad.

They see the Palestine problem through the same eyes and in the Knesset voted unanimously for a law forbidding Israeli subjects to have any political contacts whatever with the Palestine Liberation Organization on pain of prosecution. They as unanimously advocate continued occupation of Arab territories, namely, the West Bank Jordan and the Gaza Strip as well as interference in Lebanon's internal affairs and "control" of its southern regions. As for the foreign policy line so closely linked with U.S. designs vis-à-vis the Middle East and the entire world, for that matter, it really cells for no special mention, as is well illustrated even by the Peres cabinet's decision on an Israeli involvement in SDI, which Shamir has resolutely backed.

Still, the Western news media play up Peres as wellnigh "the dove" and "peacemaker" in opposition to Shamir "the hawk." True, unlike Shamir, Peres did not officer any gangs of terrorists in the past. He does not favour overhasty Israeli colonization of occupied Arab territories, such as Shamir has been demanding. Indeed, a month ago he called, believe it or not, for an international conference on the Middle East.

Yet, are not the outrages the Israeli army of occupation and its hirelings are perpetrating today in Southern Lebanon with the blessing of Peres as prime minister and the bestial bombings by Israel's planes of Lebanese cities and Palestinian refugee camps, outright terrorism? Last summer alone the Peres government okayed the construction of six new Israeli militarized settlements in the Gaza Strip; all in all, during his two years in office the number of colonists in West Bank Jordan has increased from 40,000 to 60,000. Statistics cited, incidentally, by Radio Israel. They have establish-

ed some 150 settlements on territories sequestered from the Palestinians. Further, Mai and Likud have agreed to build another 27 similar colonialist strongholds over the next four years.

As for his support of the idea of an international conference on the Middle East, what Peres really seeks is a conference that would serve as fig leaf to conceal separate Camp David-style negotiations, a conference in which the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the people of Palestine would not be represented, a conference that would in effect proceed without the participation of the Soviet Union to whom preposterous political demands are put.

Of course, Shamir "the hawk" takes a sharper tune than Peres "the dove." He advocates Israel's more energetic "development" of the occupied Arab territories and tougher Israeli terror in Southern Lebanon, and is opposed to the very idea of an international conference on the Middle East.

Actually, Peres and Shamir take the high and low notes in one and the same comic opera duet, in one and the same thoroughly rehearsed show, with the former the lyrical tenor, the latter, the crude bass.

All that is actually occurring between Peres and Shamir is a power struggle. Mai and Likud are already girding themselves to lambast one another at the Knesset elections in two years' time and form a government that either would fully control. Peres's means to achieve this is social and liberal demagogy, Shamir's is the cult of brutality and violence.

Meanwhile, we are witnessing merely a change of dramatis personae, as planned.

E. KORSHUNOV

INDIA—U.S.A.

Was There a "Honeymoon"?

● ON HIS ASIAN TOUR CASPAR WEINBERGER VISITED INDIA, THE FIRST VISIT EVER OF A U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENCE IN INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS.

The Pentagon chief said that what he wanted to do was to dispel India's doubts as to U.S. policies vis-à-vis the Indian subcontinent. Hardly has he succeeded. From well-informed sources we learn that Rajiv Gandhi had told the Washington envoy straight from the shoulder that India profoundly mistrusted this policy. He rejected Weinberger's assurances that U.S. deliveries to Pakistan of sophisticated weaponry were supposedly needed to strengthen its defences against a presumed threat from Afghanistan, inasmuch as four fifths of these arms supplies are massed on the Indian border.

The Indian prime minister also voiced concern over the destructive U.S. approach to disarmament. He said India could not agree to U.S. "star wars" designs and expressed disappointment over Washington's negative response to the well-known nuclear disarmament initiatives of the Delhi Six, especially as regards the termination of nuclear tests.

Caspar Weinberger thought to play a trump card by offering to supply India with certain types of weapons. However, Delhi stated from the very outset that it did not want to buy American arms. The explanation offered in political circles in Delhi is that to act otherwise would be tantamount to identifying oneself with Washington's Pakistani customer and thus contributing in effect to the arms race in South Asia that the U.S. set rolling.

Yet, Delhi would buy certain sophisticated technologies from the U.S. for civilian needs. However, the Pentagon has embargoed that, asking India to furnish special guarantees that it will use American technologies exclusively for non-military purposes. That is why this issue, which was raised before, was the subject of special discussion.

Certain quarters in Indian society view Rajiv Gandhi's enunciated modernization as inevitably associated with closer relationship with Washington. No wonder the promise given the new prime minister during his U.S. visit last year to meet India's interests in sophisticated technology generated euphoria, with these quarters even talking about a honeymoon in the Indian-U.S. relationship.

It transpired later that U.S. consent implied India's acceptance of certain political terms. What India was expected to do was to abandon the bedrock principles of its foreign policy. The notorious Heritage Foundation, an arch-reactionary organization whose advice the White House heeds, called on Rajiv Gandhi to extend his reforms of economic liberalization to foreign policy. However, this did not happen. The Gandhi government's stance for nuclear disarmament and its loyalty to the aims and principles of the non-aligned movement, its sharply nega-

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U.S.A.

Run-of-the-Mill Detective Story

● A PACKAGE WITH SECRET MATERIALS. A MYSTERIOUS SOURCE OF INFORMATION. A LETTER TO CIA DIRECTOR. A NOTE REFERRING TO A "JOURNALIST FRIEND."

It was a mixture of everything, this run-of-the-mill detective story which, by the grace of the Washington

tive reaction to U.S. bombings of Libya, its resolute support of southern Africa's "front-line" states all indicate that in the two years since the new prime minister was installed, India's policy internationally has not changed. Hence the Pentagon embargo on sales of sophisticated technology continues.

According to well-informed sources, as a string to the sale of such technologies Caspar Weinberger demanded that the U.S. be allowed to station in India an "inspection team" that would not only control how U.S. technology would be used by this sovereign country, but also vet Indian personnel. India would seem to have rejected this importunacy. At any rate, after conversations with Rajiv Gandhi, the U.S. Secretary of Defence told a news conference that the negotiations on the terms for technology supplies were to continue.

L. ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

ALGERIA

Women's Role

● WOMAN WAS THE SUBJECT OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CINEPANORAMA.

Constantine, one of Algeria's oldest and loveliest cities east of the capital that boasts numerous architectural gems, is cherished by Algerians above all for having been a focal point from which the Algerian national liberation revolution started in 1954. It was to celebrate the 30th anniversary of this event that the first international cinepanorama—as the film festival that has no competition, no jury panel and awards no prizes is locally known—was arranged in 1984.

Constantine's now annual cinepanoramas are of a thematic order. The previous one presented films about the younger generation, a theme that is highly topical for Algeria, as more than half its population are under 30. The theme of this year's cinepanorama, held in October, was "The woman's role in modern society."

"In our country," Kamel Arioua, deputy secretary of the Constantine Regional National Liberation Front Party Committee, who is chairman of the cinepanorama's organizing committee, told your correspondent, "we attach particular importance to enhancing the role the woman plays in our socio-political and socio-economic life."

Shown at the third international cinepanorama, were upwards of 120 feature films and documentaries, mostly about the participation of women in the national liberation movement, the revolution, and the peace movement. They included "Revolutionary Madonnas. Nicaragua 1985," a Soviet production, and a most memorable picture about Salvadoran women fighting in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Its director, Lilian del Pilar Ramos, who had little to say about herself, mostly spoke of the hardships encountered in making this picture, as the film unit worked with gun in hand.

A specific feature of the Constantine cinepanorama is the discussions that are arranged after each film is viewed. Often discussions will go beyond a film's actual content, and take up pungent ethical and social issues.

The Algerian film "Barberousse, mes soeurs" deeply moved the audience. Barberousse is a fortress prison, in which patriotic Algerian women, jailed by the colonialists, languished during the struggle for independence. Invited to the film's discussion were the prison's former inmates and their emotion-packed recollections of the terrible days spent in Barberousse brought tears to many an eye.

The Soviet entry, "The Most Charming and Most Attractive," which ran at several cinemas and which was shown on the cinepanorama's closing day, was well received.

E. BOBROV
our own correspondent

Constantine—Algiers

authorities, nearly became another obstacle to Soviet-American relations. . . .

In the space of a single month newsman Nicholas Daniloff became practically the most popular personality in the United States. No wonder. A martyr, who had been "snatched by the ubiquitous KGB on a trumped-up charge" and had been "released by some miracle and allowed to return home." This won him all the attributes of national renown—from television interviews to being photographed with President Reagan in front of the White House.

Daniloff's assignment as correspondent in the U.S.S.R. indeed ended in a rather unexpected way. Unexpected, it turns out, only for uninitiated.

According to Newsday, Daniloff met a Soviet citizen who called himself "Father Roman" and who, at the beginning of last year, gave him a packet of material "on religious subjects." Daniloff found it in an envelope left for him outside his Moscow apartment and took it straight to the U.S. embassy. There it was opened by CIA officials who found it to contain interesting information of a military nature as well as a letter addressed to CIA director William Casey. The paper goes on to say that a CIA agent had later called up "Father Roman" and informed him that the package had been delivered. "Father Roman" was informed by letter that his package had been received from his journalist friend. A few days after Daniloff was arrested in the act of receiving more information—also, evidently, on "religious subjects," Murat Natirboff, counsellor for regional affairs at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, and also CIA station chief, hastily left the U.S.S.R. Of his own free will. The CIA refused to comment on the "Father Roman" story, Newsday ruefully observes.

Some of Daniloff's colleagues have thrown more light on the subject.

". . .He was used by the CIA station in Moscow, which was seeking to establish contact with a potential intelligence source," Dusco Doder of the Washington Post says. "Daniloff believes now that he made a mistake. He is right. He did. A reporter should not get involved . . . in intelligence gathering.... His mistake was compounded by the CIA's clumsy handling of the case.... Having served as a correspondent in Moscow for more than seven of the past 18 years, I know several colleagues who have made similar mistakes. I made such mistakes myself." Mr Doder knows what he is talking about.

G. BORISOVA

Face to Face

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

Face to face you don't see the entire person. However, we did see faces.

The clock hands showed 18:50 when a buzzing akin to a disturbed beehive filled the Haskolabik Cinema, next door to the Saga Hotel. Inside we—some 350 newsmen—had been looking forward for several hours to Mikhail Gorbachev's long-announced press conference. Everyone rushed to the TV screen in the foyer to watch the last moments of the summit, blacked-out and secret, as the two leaders parted. There was no real information, nothing but rumours and dubious leakages. At moments like this the newsman is helpless, his being there on the spot only aggravating the situation. One is all eyes and ears in the hope that these simplest of senses will yield the long-anticipated evidence. Nothing had been said as yet, but what did the faces reveal?

The doors of the Hoefdi House opened. First to emerge was President Reagan. The crowd gathered around the TV screen emitted an odd sound, not a gasp, but a sigh of disappointment. More accustomed to the theatre of political masks than we Soviet newsmen, our Western colleagues saw at once which mask the U.S. President had donned in the focus of the world limelight. There was no sign of the habitual smile. One saw the grim face of a tough politician who had withstood a two-day long battle with the communist leader who had yielded not one inch—to the glory of the U.S. and the entire "free world"—and who had replied with a categoric "No!" to all lures and temptations.

A few minutes later U.S. Secretary of State Shultz appeared for his first news conference. Carefully choosing his words, manifestly embarrassed and, it appeared, deeply upset, he spoke of disappointment and failure.

(In one of his first conversations with news correspondents White House chief of staff Donald Regan described the general feeling as follows: "...Each of us had different reactions. The President was quietly disappointed and concerned, tight-lipped.... The Secretary was disappointed.... My reaction was one of anger at the disappointment of that.")

Incidentally, when a couple of hours later the President addressed service personnel at the U.S. Keflavik base—hardly the appropriate audience for his first report on the results of the American-Soviet summit—he already spoke of "glorious achievements."

What followed was something from the realm of fantasy. Either Air Force 1, the presidential plane, which took off from Reykjavik so swiftly on its way to Washington that it outstripped all time zones, or the calendar's Columbus Day had upset all familiar notions of time and space, but all the President's men fell over one another in the effort to discover a new Iceland for the U.S. The drama was urgently retailored into a comic strip the entire content of which boiled down to several publicity balloons to the effect that the President had ostensibly offered the Soviet Union the most far-reaching and most generous arms control proposal ever, that he had said they would do away with all ballistic missiles on either side within the next ten years and agree to a reciprocated moratorium on all defensive systems for the next ten years, but that Mr Gorbachev had said he would not agree to that until SDI was nipped in the bud, to which the President had said "No." This is roughly what Buchanan, the White House communication director, had said, but one could have very well heard the same from Shultz, Poindexter, Regan, or even Reagan himself.

Why is the proposal to abolish ballistic missiles "most generous"? Is not the Soviet January 15 proposal for full nuclear disarmament more comprehensive? And why did the President fail to include strategic aircraft and cruise missiles in this proposal? Is that not because this component of the U.S. triad is stronger?

To appropriate another's laurels and another's proposals is hardly ethical, to say the least. But in the given case plagiarism, it turns out, is combined with misrepresentation of the substance of accord. Speaking on Soviet television, Mikhail Gorbachev clarified the matter. "With a full sense of responsibility as a participant in the talks," he said, "I declare: the President agreed —although without any particular enthusiasm—to the liquidation of all, I repeat all, and not just some types, of strategic offensive weapons. And to their destruction precisely within ten years, in two stages."

One must stick more closely to the truth.

The Actual Facts

It was Mikhail Gorbachev who suggested the urgent summit. President Reagan did not decline the offer despite pressure exerted "from the right." The Soviet Union came to Reykjavik with proposals that caught the Americans napping—as they themselves admitted. The Americans had had far more modest objectives. The agenda—concerned mainly with nuclear and space armaments—was also Soviet-proposed, as even the President has acknowledged. The Americans had intended to lay the emphasis on human rights and regional conflicts.

All the evidence points to Mikhail Gorbachev holding the initiative throughout the summit. It was the Soviet Union that advanced the sensational compromise proposals on halving strategic forces over the next five years and on medium-range missiles. It was the Soviet Union that made concessions the Americans had never expected for the sake of reaching agreement. They are well worth citing.

On strategic weapons:

earlier the U.S.S.R. had insisted on the including in strategic parity the U.S. Euromissiles and forward-based means, inasmuch as both could reach Soviet territory. Now this demand was dropped.

On medium-range missiles:

the U.S.S.R. was amenable to turning a blind eye to British and French nuclear-missile potentials and their prospective development.

It was ready to reduce severalfold, to only 100 warheads, its missiles on the Asian territory of the U.S.S.R., and proposed negotiating this point.

It agreed to freeze missiles with an operational range of under 1,000 km. deployed in the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia and to negotiate this point at once.

What concessions did the Americans make with regard to these matters? None. If the two sides reached agreement on this score, it was only because the U.S.S.R. demonstrated its broad willingness to meet the West halfway.

The Stumbling Block

The stumbling block was the Strategic Defence Initiative, the darling of the U.S. military-industrial complex. Today the Americans assert the following two points:

a. that they made concessions on this issue;

b. that the Soviet Union demanded modifying the ABM treaty—unlike the Americans, who had sought to loyally adhere to it throughout the entire "transitional" period. The first allegation is greatly exaggerated, the second is simply farcical.

Prior to Reykjavik, the Americans had agreed to abide by the treaty for

seven years. Now they agreed to abide by it for ten years. That is the sole concession made. Considering that in any event this period is insufficient to prepare for a factual deployment of an anti-missile defence system incorporating space-based components, the proposal smacks of bluff.

The matter, however, is one of substance, not of the time indicated. The said treaty **forbids the deployment** of a space-based anti-missile defence system. It **forbids testing** this system's components in space. Accordingly, the U.S.S.R. proposed assuming the commitment to abide by the treaty for ten years and to note, in order to avoid misinterpretation, that research and testing be restricted to the laboratory. This both **clarifies** and **strengthens** the treaty.

But the Americans say: No, that won't do. In the first place they "discovered" some time ago a new interpretation of the treaty's inhibiting provisions, one so sweeping that by U.S. logic these provisions no longer forbid but, supposedly, permit testing.

In the second place, the U.S. is not jettisoning the treaty now only because even by the most optimistic forecasts they will not be ready to deploy an anti-missile defence system with space-based components earlier than the mid-1990s. Then, they will discard the treaty of course, which is what they propose that the Soviet Union should do. An absurd suggestion.

Weakness or Strength?

Such is the pattern and psychological background to the Hoefdi drama. Underlying it all is the philosophy.

Why did the U.S.S.R. offer such major concessions? Out of weakness? That is what Reagan's men are saying. Over its six-odd years in power the Administration ignored arms control, intensively stoking up military fires. Today, as if having secured an alibi, it sings the praises of a "strong America" which supposedly "forced the Russians to sit down at the negotiating table." This will convince only those accustomed to believing that there is no god but might and that the U.S. is always right.

Dogmatism and fondness for labels and tags will least of all help to comprehend the complex realities of the talks. Needed is breadth of vision and thinking, and ability to look ahead.

Why could the issue of medium-range missiles be laid aside when discussing strategic arms reductions? If only because a separate agreement was suggested on this score, one that would provide a radical solution.

Then why was it necessary to give the Americans back their "zero option"? Wasn't this acknowledgement post-factum that they had been right?

When the Americans proposed their "zero option" in 1981 they undoubtedly counted on the Russians rejecting it, which would thus enable them to set about deploying U.S. missiles in Europe "with a clear conscience." In line with Reagan's "zero option," the U.S.S.R. was to abolish all available missiles (medium range), while the U.S. was to abolish nothing. Was this fair? However, today, in 1986, 200-odd U.S. missiles are already positioned in Western Europe and more are arriving all the time. The situation is different.

At the Hoefdi summit the Americans were cornered by their own proposals. At the outset they temporized, reluctant to withdraw their missiles from Europe. However, it was too late to back down.

The same could be said as regards halving strategic weapons. The U.S. leadership had enveloped the idea in clouds of demagogy, having convinced itself that it would be absolutely unacceptable to the Russians, inasmuch as the Soviets supposedly could not dispense with their heavy missiles. But when this proposal was placed on the table at the Hoefdi House, the Americans found themselves with their backs to the wall.

Evidently the basic surprise for the U.S. was the new diplomacy it encountered, that bold, unorthodox approach to all and every idea regardless of origin and reputation, the ability to discern in the negotiating partner's position the potential for common sense and possible acceptance. The new diplomacy is the derivative of the new way of thinking.

The New Diplomacy

These really broad compromise proposals were offered because they did not comprise an assortment of disunited ideas. They were part of an integrated programme.

When Mikhail Gorbachev put forward on January 15 the programme for three-phase nuclear disarmament before this century is out, Western officialdom tried to discount it as a propaganda ploy. A pity. The total menace which this nuclear age has generated is not just a well-turned phrase, while the need to abolish this menace is no propaganda gimmick. The idea of a denuclearized world is a political imperative, not an eloquent slogan. It was this idea that was reflected in the January 15 programme statement.

The package placed on the table at the Hoefdi House had spelled out this programme in concrete terms.

The Soviet side so freely amended its position, so freely offered concessions and compromises in one or another concrete area, because it distinctly saw the objective of tangible nuclear disarmament. The aspects of strategic armaments, Euromissiles, nuclear testing and space weaponry, though each being extremely thorny, are far easier to resolve when seen as an interconnected total—not as linkages, but precisely as an interconnected total (whence the **package**)—and when geared to one overall objective. Individual concessions meant advance towards the basic objective.

If you have two mountain climbers going up a mountain from different sides, both having firmly agreed to reach the top, they don't necessarily have to keep exactly in step with each other because they will be equally rewarded when they meet at the top. The question is whether they really want to get to the top.

That is precisely what the Americans failed to perceive at Reykjavik during the first three rounds of the talks. They abided by their habit of playing diplomatic poker, of acting as "tough guys," of bluffing with sundry offers akin to the hazy promises of "sharing" SDI technology. They thought they held the trump cards. They were only too happy to take what they were offered. But when they saw what these individual acquisitions amounted to in toto, they shivered. They were not prepared for a denuclearized world, for a world without the arms race. That was why eventually the American partners backed out of the negotiating table at Hoefdi.

"Star wars" served as the pretext.

Senseless Bluffing

To ascribe success to themselves, they had to fault their partners for the breakdown. That is precisely what Reagan's men are doing now trying to make it appear as if the agreements the wise and brave President so magnanimously offered crumbled in the face of Russian intransigence over the Strategic Defence Initiative. Why does SDI frighten the Russians, Washington asks, feigning astonishment. Because it will be part of a first-strike potential? But the President said that we shall be deploying the system together, and in ten years from now, when there will be no more ballistic missiles. So how can one speak of a first strike?

By putting the matter thus, the "star wars" travelling salesmen are hoisted by their own petard. If there aren't going to be any missiles, then why build up defence against missiles? Moreover, at the cost of a trillion dollars?

That is our insurance policy, we hear the answer. Against whom? Against you Russians, so that you will not fool us, simple-hearted Americans, as you usually do. And also against some madman. Indeed, suppose some anonymous lunatic should knock together a dozen ground-based strategic missiles or an Ohio-type submarine armed with Tridents....

The Issyk Kul Symposium

In the middle of October a number of cultural celebrities conferred in the Kirghiz capital of Frunze and then went to Lake Issyk Kul. They were invited by leading Soviet author Chingiz Aitmatov and included among others Alexander King, president of the Club of Rome, the American playwright Arthur Miller, the American novelist James Baldwin, the English actor and writer Peter Ustinov, the French writer and Nobel laureate Claude Simon, the American philosophers Alvin and Heidi Toffler, the Cuban author Lisandro Otero, and the Ethiopian painter Afewerk Tekle.

Why did they meet? And how did the forum proceed? In a New Times interview **CHINGIZ AITMATOV** said:

We are all friends and we all think alike. We have long known each other and maintain warm, heartfelt relationships. What induced us to get together for what is now known as the Issyk Kul forum was the urgent need to discuss the problems that surround us not at an official 'negotiating table' but by the fireside, as it were. These problems concern the prospects before our civilization and the role art workers play in the world today. I would say that these are all global issues. There came together an unofficial group of 17 persons who wanted to spend time communicating with one another to help all of us tackle issues vital to humanity. I see the Issyk Kul forum—the discussion of how to solve crucial, knotty issues of today by innovative, not only traditional, means—as a sign of the times. This is an instance of a practical search for the new mode of thinking.

"The new ideas must penetrate every sphere inclusive of politics, so that the new way of thinking emerge in every country," the statement that the forum adopted stresses.

There followed several interviews.

James BALDWIN
writer (U.S.A.)

The importance of the Issyk Kul forum is absolutely plain. However, we shall be able to fully assess its significance only after some time. After all, everyone is so different. We have much in common but there is also much that is totally unalike. Since we have here people from all over the world, it would be strange were we to reach a full concensus on every subject. The important thing is that we have agreed on the basics. Also important is that all who attended the forum seek to modify the established notions which prevent taking a sober stock of our realities. We are trying to do something to make these realities more humane. We want man to have the right to order his life and future as he sees fit.

Lisandro OTERO
writer (Cuba)

It was a wonderful idea to bring writers, scientists, artists and theatre people together and give us the chance of getting to know one another better, find a common language and work out a common platform. It must necessarily be emphasized that we came here not as representatives of one or another organization, but simply as creative workers who accepted Chingiz Aitmatov's invitation to visit his homeland of Kirghizia.

This was a very useful get-together for all of us. Thus, you know that the official relationships between Cuba and the U.S. are very tense; indeed one may say that in practice there are none. However, it appears that American intellectuals and myself have quite a number of common concerns and when we discussed them we reached full understanding.

In Kirghizia, we drafted a joint document which everyone who took part in the forum signed though they are of different political, philosophic and religious convictions, and are from far away.

Though we place great hopes in Mikhail Gorbachev's good will and endless patience, we intellectuals must lend a helping hand. By exercising our influence we must work on human hearts and minds to convince them to do everything in their power to avoid a global disaster.

There is no doubt that our movement, born on the shores of Issyk Kul, will gather momentum. Such prominent personalities in world culture as Iannis Ritsos, Federico Fellini and Friedrich Dürrenmatt have already said that they are willing to join.

Narayana MENON
composer and musicologist (India)

Art can rise up against war and defend peace. The great Shostakovich composed his brilliant symphony in wartime and in the entire history of music there has possibly been nothing

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Further, to sound more convicing they say: well, poison gas was outlawed right after the first world war, but we still have gas masks. Yet nobody is suggesting that people buy up gas masks at all costs.

That impenetrable anti-missile shield is a bluff. More than 7,000 U.S. scientists, including 15 Nobel laureates (according to the Washington Post, that is 57 per cent of the scientists at 20-odd leading U.S. universities) have refused to work for SDI, as they consider it immoral and impracticable. SDI has focussed R & D on sophisticated weaponry, on third-generation nuclear arms. How can one dream of a denuclearized world and tolerate an arms race in a new generation of weaponry? Sheer insanity!

That is precisely what the Soviet Union seeks to avoid but what America with an eye to world dominion craves to possess.

At their Geneva summit the two leaders agreed that it was impossible to win a nuclear war, that such a war cannot be waged. However, they have drawn two different conclusions therefrom. One is that nuclear disarmament must be sought. The other is that the stakes must be raised more than sky-high, from nuclear to space-based weapons.

At the patriarchal Hoefdi House these two ways of thinking came face to face. The Soviet position is to end the arms race both now and in the future. But the most the Americans agree to do is to exchange the old arms race for a new one, for the sake of which they are even not averse to clearing away the old thermonuclear rubbish.

From Disappointment to Hope

We all felt disappointed when watching the brief, frosty leavetaking on TV. The cinema was like a Noah's ark; we were all different, but the feeling of let-down was common. That same moment, with the speed of TV lightning, that disappointment spread throughout the entire world village, like an epidemic that knows no obstacles, that affected equally Russians and Americans, the men in the street and the political VIPs. Why? What had we all expected? Had we really been so naive

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: PEOPLE COME FIRST

At the beginning of the century Lenin expressed an idea of great profundity—that human values must take priority over the objectives of one or another class. Today the significance of this idea is particularly keenly felt. And one would very much like the priority of human values over values of any other kind subscribed to by one or another individual to be understood and accepted in the other part of the world as well.

Mankind has always had enough sense, courage and integrity to fathom the causes of one or another disaster. But, unfortunately, this often happened after misfortune had struck. What would the world be like today if people were able to avert disaster every time it appeared on the threshold!

We have all drawn lessons from the past; overcoming hardships and privation, we have risen again and gone forward, choosing our own paths. But what will happen if we fail to ward off the nuclear threat hanging over the common home of all mankind! There would then be no possibility to correct our mistakes. We have reached that critical moment in history when it is clear that the fatal danger can be removed only by joint efforts.

It is necessary to speak at the top of our voice of the anxieties of our time, jointly to search for the needed solutions in the strengthening of peace today and tomorrow, to alert every person on earth to consciousness of his or her responsibility for the fate of peace.

In the final analysis people, human beings, come first. If progress in one or another sphere is accompanied by human losses—not only spiritual or political but also physical—the validity of the system that allows of such losses should be questioned. Civilization with all its difficulties and contradictions must be preserved—for life, for human beings. And if humanity lives at all, it will somehow cope with the contradictions.

From Mikhail Gorbachev's talk with participants in the Issyk Kul meeting

else that so greatly moves hearts, urging listeners to rise up in struggle. Another masterpiece, but now in the realm of painting, is Pablo Picasso's "Guernica." Republican fighters cherished their snapshots of it as much as pictures of their near and dear ones—their mothers, wives and children. Even in such a "nonserious" field as pop music we suddenly discover pieces and songs that urge the youth, indeed all of us, to fight crime, injustice and war.

Nuclear weapons can slay every living thing. The Issyk Kul forum has shown that we are aware of our obligation to do something about it. Not, though, to multiply the death-dealing powers, but to help the starving millions and those who die for lack of medical assistance. In the mind we more than once addressed the Reykjavik summit. Mikhail Gorbachev stretched out his hand, but unfortunately one hand is too little to produce a handshake.

Alexander KING
President of the Club of Rome

There was harmony and no obstacles to communication.

The Issyk Kul forum is not what we would usually call an organization, as we are against all bureaucracy. Our communication consists of the exchange of views between creative workers prepared to contribute to the solution of today's urgent problems.

I am an elderly man and have some experience in life. Which is why I would want to see my five grandsons—one a doctor, another a geologist and a third a poet—enjoy a happy future.

Peter USTINOV
writer and actor (Britain)

It is hard as a rule for intellectuals to work out a common platform. The Issyk Kul gathering is noteworthy in that people from different countries not only discussed problems of concern in total freedom without restriction, but achieved the basic thing—a common stand on the crucial issues of today.

Federico MAYOR
public leader (Spain)

It is my firm conviction that old medicines cannot cure new diseases. Needed are fresh initiatives, remedies and ideas. It is essential for scientists, writers and artists not so much to adapt themselves to today's realities as to themselves strive to mould the future. That was the theme of our forum.

What is especially delightful is that this initiative met with tremendous help and support from the Soviet government, the Soviet people and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev who received all of us in the Kremlin. Such support warrants our viewing the prospects before our movement with special optimism.

Interviewers: N. POPOVA and V. GALIN

as not to see that here there could be no simple solutions?

We had realized that. Nevertheless we had hoped. Deep down even the most hard-bitten believed a miracle might be possible. The world is tired of fear. The world is tired of confrontation. The world is tired of the arms race. All we citizens of this world and contemporaries of the nuclear age, living in different national apartments hope and secretly believe that one fine day the nightmare will end, because human nature rejects it. But that Icelandic day of mid-October, so windy, rainy, and full of wearisome anticipation —why could it not have become that fine day of the realization of human hopes? Unfortunately, that was not to be.

Many other days have passed since then. The summit recedes, yet its image grows on us. One begins to realize more clearly that one has witnessed a great event, one that had summed up the results of the entire previous stage of struggle, discussion and contradictions. It should germinate offshoots of new developments in world politics.

The new political thinking, the new diplomacy have manifested themselves to the full.

The new ideas have earned the right to be. They will work and recruit supporters everywhere.

What seemed a pipedream only recently—nuclear disarmament—is already here, it is manifest if not yet in agreements then at any rate in agreed outline.

Naturally, the contradictions are too grave and deep for us to expect solutions round the corner. But who could have thought prior to Reykjavik that such radical understandings were at all feasible?

During the summit U.S. right-wingers seriously feared that Reagan would fall into a Russian trap. Now they have set their hearts at ease. But did we not see for ourselves how arrogant America, so proud of its strength, found itself caught, at least by one foot, in the "trap" of understandings on aspects of disarmament? And that cannot but make itself felt.

As the days go by, from a distance we see faces more clearly. Disappointment is yielding to sober views and hopes.

Reykjavik—Moscow

POLEMICS

Unwanted Guests

Dear editors of New Times. Your magazine usually takes the side of all the "downtrodden and humiliated." This is very humane and wonderful. But is it not idealistic!

Why do I ask this question! It's very simple. I am a Parisian. Many of us have become victims—and all are hostages—of these very same "humiliated and downtrodden." I mean the immigrant riffraff who get into France and Paris by hook or by crook. What happens! These unbidden guests aggravate unemployment. Not every woman would risk going alone into our once safe underground. Even men are not insured against mugging and violence. And of late you have had to think twice before entering a shop. Who wants to run extra risk: blasts in shops and other public places are also the work of those who have come to us from countries south of France.

You can use the time saved on shops and cinemas on meditation. Mind you, I cannot as yet agree to such drastic actions as U.S. air retaliation against Libya. This is fraught with complications in the region and on a wider scale. But I am now having second thoughts about the position of M. Le Pen and his friends with regard to immigrants. We have enough cares of our own to tolerate these violent and unruly "humiliated and downtrodden." Will Moscow journalists continue to seek clever arguments to prove that these people have the legitimate right to be in France!

Gaston MARTIN
Paris, France

Scapegoats

● You have raised a very important problem, M. Martin. The recent developments in France are cause for serious concern.

As far as I know, three variant solutions are now under discussion: to perpetuate the existence of the immigrant community which has taken root on French soil proudly called the "land of refuge"; to force it to leave "voluntarily," which is the aim of the legislation now being devised by the government of Jacques Chirac, or simply throw them out as advocated by M. Le Pen and Co. You sound as if you were inclining to the position of the right-wing extremist National Front, i.e., towards the third variant. I wonder if I should offer my congratulations.

One thing I am sure of, though, is that I am not indifferent to the fate of those people who are truly humiliated and downtrodden (without the sarcastic quotation marks), the people who, as you sincerely believe, have made you their "victim" and "hostage."

The humiliation of the "aliens" who now live and work in your country began long ago, during the time of French colonial expansion. And it lasted a long time. I will always remember Algeria in 1962, the blown-up building of a university library and the black inscriptions: "Algeria Is France!" and "Long Live Death!" signed "OAS." Algeria won. It put paid to the arrogant claim of the colonialists that the Mediterranean is as much part of France as the Seine is of Paris. It proved that Algeria is Algeria. It proclaimed the slogan for which it had shed blood and fought heroically: "Long live life in conditions of independence and freedom!" Algerians were drawing a line under 132 years of colonial bondage. They drew up the sad tally: they had no industry, no doctors, no agronomists, no engineers. Many had no jobs. Those who had gone to school recalled with a wry smile the place in their history textbook which said that their ancestors were "blond-haired blue-eyed Gauls."

France which had mercilessly exploited Algerians in their own country, France which was exhausted by the war against Algerians when it barely escaped a fascist coup, the France of the 1960s and indeed the 1970s badly needed Algerians to develop its ravaged economy. It flung its border open to them. You don't sound too nice, M. Martin, when you—echoing M. Le Pen, who in his youth was a paratroop officer in Algeria and tortured Algerian patriots—today call immigrant workers "riffraff," "unbidden guests" and "that crowd."

Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans, Senegalese, Haitians and Portuguese, driven by dire need to come to your country, have made and continue to make a very substantial contribution to its economy. Most of them now, as in the past, take the most hard and least attractive jobs on which Frenchmen looked down before the current hard times set in. How can you blame them for the woes that befell France? As serious studies have shown, the huge and fatally "irreducible" unemployment, which now stands at two and a half million, has not been caused by the "invasion" of immigrants but by the profound crisis of the economy which is in the midst of an orgy of "liberalization." This social calamity hits the guests even harder than the hosts, i.e., the French working class. People of all races feel despair over the arbitrary acts of the employers and the anti-democratic moves of the government.

● And now for the acts of terrorism. We share the indignation of the French people, M. Martin. No person in his right mind can put up with the explosions which kill innocent people and breed an atmosphere of universal fear. Terrorism is a disgusting phenomenon that can be neither justified nor forgiven. But who said that it is, as you write, the work of those who came from "countries south of France"? Everybody knows that the "Arabs," as all immigrant workers are

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for words, let's act and talk less." And he concludes: "We are already at war with pacifism (sic!) and terrorism." His ideas are shared and elaborated by the Israeli ambassador to France, Mr Soffer, who declares that "we are starting the third world war against the West" and that "the Atlantic alliance must intervene in the Middle East." The penetrating ambassador knows for sure that the decision to stage the recent terrorist acts was taken "at the non-aligned summit in Harare."

In short, if terrorism did not exist it should have been invented for the benefit of those who, let us face it, are using it for their evil purposes. Reactionaries of all descriptions are trying to make political capital out of the death of innocent people. They put terrorists on the same footing with pacifists who oppose the nuclear war. They call for a wide-scale imperialist aggression in the Middle East. They are fomenting racial hatred inside France. Do you identify yourself with them, M. Martin?

I was greatly impressed by the words of a French woman whose life has been rudely invaded by terrorism. Her husband, French journalist Jean-Paul Kauffmann, was kidnapped in Lebanon in May of last year. Since then she has been praying that the terrorists would not kill him. Joëlle Kauffmann has said: "I am opposed to confusing between terrorism and war, as it is done now. I believe that repressions alone would not put an end to terrorism, it is necessary to understand why it exists. What has been happening recently is terrible and disquieting. The wave of terrorist attacks and the agitation around them, this racist, anti-Arab climate that is being created."

Victor TSOPPI
New Times associate editor

"I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT ONE U.S. DOLLAR"

Postal orders from different countries are deposited with the U.S.S.R. State Bank's Chernobyl a/c No. 904 opened to financially assist the victims of the accident. However, some of our readers do not know that and write to us in that connection. Thus, Saad Shimi writes:

"I am a Palestinian student at the University of Kansas, U.S. Though I am not at all a rich man, I would like to present one U.S. dollar to the Chernobyl aid fund as a sign of sympathy and respect for its victims. You always stand up for the righteous cause, for peace on Earth and for all peoples, including the people of Palestine, who are fighting for equality and independence. I consider it my duty to help you in a difficult moment."

Giuseppe Giordano writes from Rome:

"Though retired, I think it necessary to post 50,000 lire from my modest resources which I would like you to transfer to the Chernobyl aid fund." Our regular reader and active correspondent Joseph Sparacino has sent us a $100 cheque from Canada.

We are grateful to our readers for their humanitarian feelings.

■

NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN

Shoulder to Shoulder

Having read "The First Battle Against Fascism" in your issue No. 29 for this year, in which the name of Antonio Arias is mentioned, we decided to send you this photo snapped in Spain 50 years ago, which depicts the fliers of a republican air regiment. Among these men, who were the first to rise in battle against fascism, is Antonio Arias, a working-class lad and Communist Party member who at the very first summons took up arms to defend the Republic.

A former printer, Antonio soon mastered the controls of his fighter and furiously fought the enemy. He was a comrade-in-arms of that magnificent pilot Sergio with whom he became fast friends. Sergio, actually Sergei Gritsevets, was first in this country to merit the title of Hero of the Soviet Union twice. The air ace presented Antonio with an aviator's helmet, which he took for his talisman and in which he is to be seen in the picture.

During the Great Patriotic War Antonio served in the Soviet air force and downed 24 enemy planes. After the end of the war he made his home in Sergio's native Byelorussia, found the latter's father, I. Gritsevets, and often visited him.

Antonio, who is living in Byelorussia to this day, has visited Spain several times to see relatives and friends from the times of fighting for the Republic. "I have two motherlands," he says, "one Spain, where I was born, the other the Soviet Union, where I have been living for nearly 50 years now. I love and cherish both."

The SADOVSKY family
Minsk, U.S.S.R.

Antonio Arias, third from left.

Stockholm Conference:
HOW REASON PREVAILED

OLEG GRINEVSKY, special envoy and head of the Soviet delegation, interviewed by our correspondent Nikita Zholkver.

Q. So, the first stage of the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe has been crowned with success: an important agreement has been signed on confidence and security measures. Most of my questions to you will deal with the final document. First, though, let us think back to the beginning of the Stockholm conference.

A. Frankly speaking, my memories on this score are none too pleasant. The conference began its work in an exceedingly tense international situation. The Pentagon had started delivering Pershing 2 and cruise missiles to Europe. We had taken retaliatory measures in the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia. The Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles and strategic arms had collapsed. I must admit that not everyone believed the conference would convene at all.

Q. The optimists proved to be right, after all.

A. Yes, but the rumblings of political storm did reach Stockholm.

Q. What exactly do you have in mind?

A. U.S. Administration officials could not simultaneously be "hawks" in Geneva and "doves" in Stockholm. So there, too, they continued to pursue their tough line. In his statements at the time U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz virtually ruled out any agreement on confidence-building measures. Moreover, the Americans believed that the conference was not the place to discuss such matters as, say, non-use of force. Yet that, when all is said and done, is basic to confidence. I could cite many instances when the United States displayed utter lack of interest in any agreement.

Q. What about the other Western participants?

A. Objectively, they were interested in a positive outcome. But initially they adopted a non-constructive attitude, albeit less intransigent than the U.S.

Q. As I remember, in the early months of the conference some journalists described it as "theatre of the absurd."

A. Well, they were not far from the truth. Throughout the first half of its deliberations it looked more like a debating club. The delegations exchanged prepared speeches, bickering over secondary matters. Every side was, as it were, hoeing its own row. The representatives of the socialist countries made their proposals and the Western representatives insisted on theirs. I must say, however, that even at that difficult period all of us seated at the table in Stockholm had the good sense not to bring things to a breakdown.

Q. How do you account for the shift that eventually took place?

A. We trace its beginning to the autumn of 1985 when Mikhail Gorbachev visited France. You will remember that Europe featured prominently during the talks in Paris. It was from that meeting that a clue to the understanding of many European problems emerged and a common understanding on the range of issues that could form the subject of a future agreement identified. By the end of the year a similar understanding had been reached at the Stockholm conference. Working bodies were at last set up which came to grips with the issues that accorded with security interests. It was not until a general theme of discussion was found that things really got off the ground.

Q. But a final agreement and practical formulas were still a long way off.

A. Yes, of course. No sooner had the discussion got moving than it came up against the question of notification of large-scale land, naval and air force manoeuvres. Some of the participants did not agree on the interpretation of the mandate of the Madrid forum, or interpreted it in such a way as to exclude the naval and air forces from notification.

Q. How was the deadlock broken this time?

A. Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986, offered a bold and simple solution: if we can't agree on notification all across the board, why not try a piecemeal solution. For example, agree on notification of major land and air force exercises leaving naval activity until the next stage. That reasonable proposal gradually gained recognition and provided the basis for the compromise reached in Stockholm. I must say this took a great deal of effort on the part of everyone at the conference.

Q. The conference was to end on September 19. When and why was such a strict deadline set?

A. You see, all conferences held as part of the European process are limited in time, and rightly so. Otherwise the talking might never end. The first stage of the Stockholm conference was due to conclude before the Vienna

Though the clock was stopped at 22:56 on September 19, proceedings continued another two days, with the flags on the Kulturhuset, where the conference was held, lowered on September 22. Proceedings will be resumed in Vienna.

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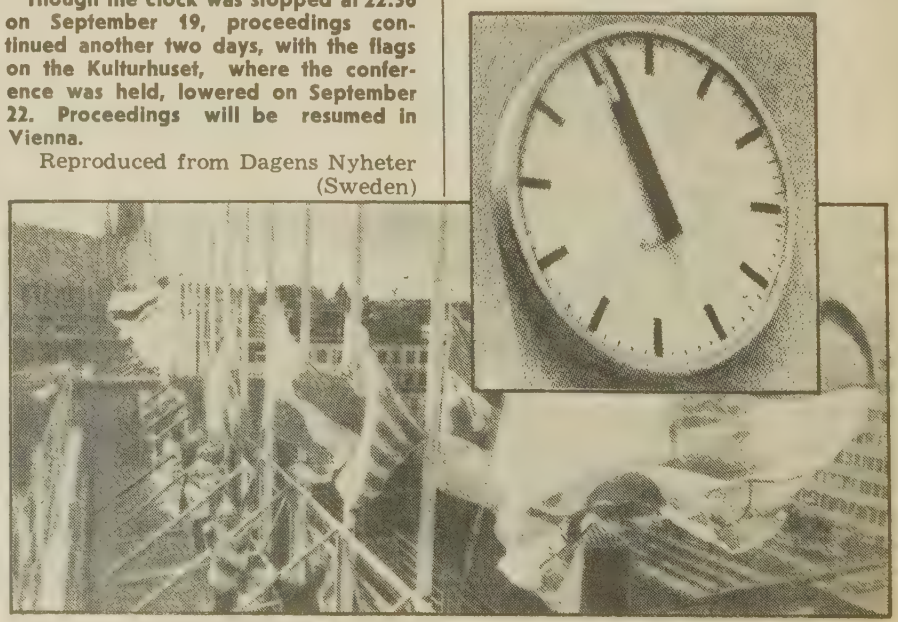

CSCE review conference which is due to open on November 4 and will require serious preparation. That is why in late 1985 a decision was made in Stockholm to finish the deliberations not later than September 19. This imposed a discipline and, if you like, gave a spur to the work.

Q. And yet the final text of the document was not signed on September 19. The clocks had to be stopped. How did that happen?

A. The agreement was practically ready by September 19. But there was no 100 per cent certainty that everybody would sign it. Two problems had yet to be agreed. One was inspection. Discussions on that issue began later than on other issues, not until August 19, in fact. But a decision could already be discerned and we could see possible moves and compromises. However, we did not manage to arrive at a final decision by the set deadline.

Another major unresolved question was that of parameters, the concrete figures pertaining to the notifiable activities. Considerable differences remained. Besides, some Western delegations resorted to the tactics of deferring these issues until the last moment, forcing the conference to work under pressure. The proceedings on September 19 began by approving the finalized parts of the document, the headline, titles, sections dealing with non-use of force, observation, exchange of plans of military activities subject to notification, limitations and the conclusion. That was something. The agreed sections formed a real basis for an agreement as a whole. So, in the evening of September 19 we decided to stop the clock. From that moment work continued day and night. The last differences were ironed out, and the sections on inspections and parameters were patched up. At last, the final document was signed.

Q. This coincided in time with the Shevardnadze-Shultz talks in New York. Is it pure coincidence or is there a direct link?

A. No, it is not mere coincidence, although I would put the question more broadly. The Stockholm document is the result of numerous efforts on the part of the sides at various meetings and negotiations. The main impulse came from the summit meetings. I have already mentioned the talks between the Soviet and French leaders. Contacts between the foreign ministers of the U.S.S.R., Britain, Italy, the F.R.G., and other European countries also played an important part. The possibility of agreement in Stockholm was, of course, discussed at the talks in the U.S.

Q. Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions on the text of the document. Under the Stockholm decision, exercises involving 13,000 troops and 300 tanks or more are subject to prior notification. The Americans initially insisted on the figure 6,000 and the Soviet Union on 20,000. Doesn't the American proposal look more attractive?

Oleg Grinevsky: "I view the future with optimism."

A. Only at first glance, and then only to the uninitiated. I'll explain why. The Helsinki Final Act, where notification was mentioned for the first time, cites the figure 25,000. That, of course, is a large figure. In Stockholm the NATO countries went, I think, to the other extreme by mentioning the figure 6,000. After all, this figure would essentially cover ordinary troop exercises. But when we talk about confidence we mean military activity that could threaten the security of European states, i.e., can be perceived as preparation for an attack. It is unlikely that anyone would take the movement of 6,000 troops in a neighbouring country as preparation for aggression against his country.

So, the American proposal was not aimed at increasing confidence in Europe. Rather, its aim was to put under control routine activities of the armed forces of European countries. This has nothing to do with strengthening confidence.

Q. How was a compromise achieved?

A. Both sides met each other halfway. First of all it was necessary to rule out interference in the routine activities of the armies whether of the Warsaw Treaty or NATO countries, the neutral or non-aligned countries. The positions gradually drew closer. We proposed the figure 18,000. The Western partners objected, but the joint efforts of the socialist, neutral and non-aligned countries eventually produced the reasonable figure of 13,000. The way this figure was agreed showed that for all the differences of positions, the sides could take major steps to meet each other.

Q. It must have been just as hard to agree on inspection? The West claimed that the U.S.S.R. would never take such a step and the positive outcome in Stockholm was a surprise to many.

A. All this is due to old stereotypes in the thinking of politicians and ordinary people in Western Europe. Verification is believed to be the stumbling block at many disarmament negotiations. Those who think so have an axe to grind. They have launched the myth that the Soviet Union is opposed to verification and would never allow inspectors on its territory. Stockholm has blasted that myth. Where there is a substantive agreement—whether on disarmament or confidence-building measures—the U.S.S.R. is no less—if not more—interested than all other states in strict observance of commitments by all the parties. I think Stockholm is a convincing example of our approach to international affairs, of new political thinking. These are not mere words. These principles underlie the programme of nuclear disarmament put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, and the Budapest appeal of the socialist countries on conventional armaments. We are translating this new approach into action. In Stockholm, too, we revised many of our positions and looked at many things in a new way. So, it is not surprising that verification measures have been agreed in Stockholm.

Q. Why didn't the Soviet Union go further and agree to the American proposal of inspection all the way to the structure, deployment and extra-garrison activity of troops?

A. Let us take a closer look at this proposal. What end does it serve? Building confidence? Far from it. Notification about exercises, troop movements, airlifts and concentrations does not envisage exchange of information about the structure of the forces, their position and their headquarters. That is not needed. Verification should check concrete actions, it is these that have to be covered by inspection.

Let me say that sometimes the U.S. and NATO used the proposal as a bluff, hoping that the U.S.S.R. and the socialist community would not agree to inspection. So, when we proposed our measures in this field some Western delegations were not ready to discuss them seriously and take decisions on concrete matters. This, by the way, was one of the reasons why we were unable to sign the final document on September 19. The NATO countries

themselves were divided on that question.

Q. The final document speaks of three inspections a year. Is that also an average between two extreme positions?

A. Well, I wouldn't call it an average. The initial U.S. proposal was 68 inspections a year on the territory of each state. I don't think that is a serious proposal, it is fantastic. The U.S. allies and the Americans themselves admitted that it was unrealistic. Let us take the F.R.G. where most NATO exercises take place. Can the F.R.G. receive 68 inspections a year? Besides, it would be absurd to inspect every theoretically possible violation of the confidence agreement. It would be like having a policeman attached to every potential criminal. Inspection is a deterrent. It is a warning to the offender: he who ventures to violate the agreement may be caught in the act. From this standpoint even one or two inspections would be enough. After all, you never know when there would be an inspection.

Q. How did the NATO countries react to this proposal? Did they come up with a counter proposal?

A. Not officially. In the lobbies they spoke of five or six inspections. In the end the rational approach prevailed and we managed to reach a compromise. Three inspections is very close to what the Soviet Union proposed.

Q. U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger believes that the verification measures agreed in Stockholm are not going to be very effective.

A. That is his personal opinion. After all, there are also the national technical means of verification. They should be borne in mind. An exercise involving 13,000 troops and 300 tanks cannot pass undetected. Modern satellites can register military activities on a far smaller scale. So, on-site inspection is just an additional means to make sure that commitments are strictly observed.

Q. One more question about inspection. You said at a recent press conference that restricted areas, military and defence installations will be exempt from inspection. Does that not offer a loophole for those who would like to cheat on the agreements and conceal certain types of military activities that are subject to notification?

A. I don't think so. Everything was carefully examined in Stockholm from that point of view. By the way, the provision regarding restricted areas was included in the final document on the initiative of the Western countries. The participants agreed not to take inspection to restricted areas, military and defence installations—what the French call the sensitive spots. A clear understanding was reached and recorded in the text that notifiable military activity should not be pursued in restricted areas.

Q. The final document includes a section on the non-use of force initially proposed by the Soviet Union. You have recently referred to this chapter as the "crowning point of the Stockholm saga." Moscow attaches primary importance to it. The West, especially the U.S., has tended to take a sceptical view of it. In fact, the Americans were from the outset strongly opposed to having this chapter included in the final document. What is the significance of the agreement reached on the non-use of force?

A. Every international agreement, especially one dealing with security, disarmament and confidence, must have a clearly stated goal. We are agreeing to invite observers, to exchange plans of military activities and on verification measures. What is the purpose of all this? We for our part have clearly stated that our aim is to make non-use of force the law in relations between states. True, the relevant section of the agreement repeats the provisions already recorded in the U.N. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. It is difficult to think up something new on an issue like non-use of force. But the present agreement places the emphasis on the non-use of armed force. Thus, one now speaks of non-use of force in any field,

EXPERT OPINION

The Place of Confidence in Strategic Stability

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Today, strategic stability, certainty and stability of the military-political situation are more necessary than ever before if war—nuclear and conventional—is to be prevented. Why is that so?

The level of military confrontation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO has become incredibly high. Controlling the vast military machines equipped with sophisticated technology has become more complex. It is hard to adequately assess the situation, especially in a crisis or with several crisis situations developing at the same time. Continued arms race increases mutual mistrust, and the way things are moving strategic stability may well be so reduced that even parity would cease to be a military-political deterrent.

Conventional weapons saturating our continent pose an additional threat. Some of these weapons are comparable to small nuclear weapons in terms of power and destructive effects. In short, the borderline between conventional and nuclear war is blurred, the nuclear threshold is being lowered and the danger of a conventional conflict escalating into a nuclear one increases. The combat capacity of the ground troops, the air force and the navy has increased, the range of fire and manoeuvrability has grown. Strike groups can now be concentrated within a shorter time: the technical and operational capacity of modern conventional weapons is such that, in the event of war, its fire can almost instantly spread over a vast territory, the whole continent far more quickly than in previous wars. Just how interdependent all the components of the present system of international relations are may be seen from the fact that an armed conflict, even a conventional one, can from the outset assume a wide scale.

not only political and economic but also military. This is the gist of the Stockholm accord.

Q. The London Times recently described the Stockholm final document as a "deal." In the U.S., too, they are figuring out who outdid whom, who made more concessions, who won and who lost.

A. Americans in general tend to see international negotiations as a sort of football game, counting the number of goals scored and lost. I think you will agree with me that this is a simplistic approach to international affairs. It does not reflect the real state of things. Any international agreement—the Stockholm document being no exception—is a compromise, the result of mutual steps made by the sides to meet each other halfway. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were the main initiators of progress at the conference. But we can't say that the West did nothing. If the West had been against—or even if the United States alone had been against—there would be no agreement.

Special mention should be made of the contribution of the neutral and non-aligned countries. At the Stockholm conference, and in the European process in general, states represent not blocs, but only themselves. Everyone contributed to the final agreement. If one considers the mechanism of the talks, the neutral and non-aligned countries played an important role. Five working groups were set up at the conference, each headed by a coordinator from a neutral country who helped to soften the contradictions, to look for ways out of difficult situations and to find solutions for outstanding problems.

Q. So, the first stage of the conference is over. Its success is indisputable. And yet some important issues remain to be settled. Specifically, notification of independent naval and air force exercises. Besides, confidence is all very well, but so far European armies have not been cut by a single tank or plane. And there is no agreement on this vital issue. When can we expect the Stockholm conference to move into its second stage and tackle arms reduction?

A. You are right. So far we have fulfilled in the main—I stress, only in the main—the first part of the Madrid conference mandate. The coming Vienna meeting should apparently supplement the mandate in such a way as to place disarmament at the focus of the second stage. I think there is a basis for a successful second stage. It is provided by the Budapest appeal issued by the socialist countries. Other countries too will probably make their proposals. Disarmament should be the main theme, the leitmotif of the conference. But the theme of confidence building will continue. Among other things we have in mind raising at the conference the question of the independent naval and air force exercises, limiting the scale of exercises, etc. We have considerable experience in achieving compromises.

Assessing the results of our conference, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "Stockholm has proved that it is possible, even in a complex situation, to agree on security questions if there is the political will and desire to do so." So, I take an optimistic view of the future. ■

In line with the decisions taken at Stockholm, henceforth the parties concerned will give advance notice of exercises involving more than 13,000 men and 300 combat tanks.

TASS photo

Thus, the initial period of the war, according to many military experts, will go a long way towards determining the subsequent run of hostilities.

This keeps the opposing sides in constant tension, makes them closely watch all the significant exercises and movements of troops, maintain a high level of combat readiness in the armed forces, which in turn tends to merely increase mutual mistrust. These dangers are particularly great in Europe where the two biggest groups of armed forces with the most modern weapons confront each other.

It is clear that in order to strengthen military-strategic stability it is necessary to bring down the level of confrontation in Europe, which the Warsaw Treaty countries are persistently trying to do. The Budapest Message of the Warsaw Treaty member states to the member states of NATO and all the European countries contain bold and far-reaching proposals on cuts in troops and conventional arms in Europe. Their realization would make it possible to cut the military potential of the sides to a reasonably sufficient level, i.e., create a situation under which the states would have the capacity to wage defensive operations, to ensure the inviolability of their borders and the borders of their allies. The possibility of all kinds of "deep strikes" would be ruled out. This idea has met with broad response. It is consonant with some conceptions of military security (non-provoking defence, defensive defence) recently advanced by some political parties in Western Europe.

Eliminating suspicion and mistrust accumulated over the years is also important for stronger strategic stability. It is necessary to reduce the danger of surprise attack. This is the end served by the agreements contained in the final document of the Stockholm conference.

The realization of the Stockholm agreements would undoubtedly contribute to strategic stability in Europe. It would make the military-political situation clearer and calmer. Some of the confidence measures agreed for Europe may be used in other regions of the world on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The successful conclusion of the Stockholm conference shows that East and West, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in particular, can reach important agreements even in a complex international situation. There is a steadily growing awareness that prevention of war and strengthening of strategic stability are questions that can only be solved through joint effort. ■

Interviewing ex-officers of the Saigon army

Difficult Awakening

MIKHAIL KALMYKOV

Through the high windows the scorching sun flooded the hospital corridor. The bright sunlight almost blotted out the illuminated sign over the door of the operating theatre. Behind the door the surgeons were hard at work. And in the corridor the patient's relatives waited in anxious expectation. At long last the illuminated sign was switched off and the surgeon appeared. He was still wearing his mask but you could read in his eyes that the operation was successful.

I had interviewed the surgeon the previous day and he had told me something about himself.

Nguyen Hai Nam's path in life had been anything but smooth. Much of it he would have preferred to "rewrite," if that were possible. Yet at first fortune seemed to favour him. In the mid-1960s he graduated from medical college in Saigon. For a boy from a peasant's family a doctor's diploma was like a dream come true. He recalled how happy he was to be able to serve those who needed his help. His plans were far-reaching and his hopes high. But then he was drafted into the puppet government's army with the rank of lieutenant. He served at the hospital of the Saigon gendarmery. As a man who considered himself remote from politics, his first impulse was to retire from the army and look for some other occupation. But gradually and imperceptibly he grew accustomed to his well-paid job. He married into the family of a big merchant, owned a house in Saigon and was steadily promoted. In 1973 he was given the rank of major.

"I often wonder now how we could have been so blind at that time," Nguyen Hai Nam said to me fingering the flap of his snow-white surgeon's coat. "We knew that the country had been divided, that a life-and-death struggle was being fought. But we preferred not to think about such things. We were OK, as the Americans, who had virtually taken over Saigon, used to say."

But 1975 changed everything. The Saigon regime collapsed and the liberation forces marched into the city.

Reeducation in camps holding servitors of former antipopular Saigon regime is based on work.

Reproduced from the magazine Vietnam

"I must confess, I was torn by doubts," Nguyen Hai Nam said. "Many of my acquaintances, scared by old wives' tales about 'bloody vengeance' by the Vietcong, fled the country. They tried to persuade me to follow suit, but I could not desert my family and the country. I knew my profession would be needed under any regime. When I learned of the decision of the people's government to reeducate all Saigon army officers at special courses I silently protested: after all I had not transgressed against the people. However, the year I spent in labour camp did a lot for me. For the first time I was able seriously to assess my life. I realized that, though I had held aloof from politics, I had actually, though unwittingly and inadvertently, been on the side of the military regime, and not with the people I had been so eager to serve in the days of my youth."

A few days after he returned home from the labour camp in 1976 Nguyen Hai Nam was assigned to An Binh hospital—one of the biggest in Ho Chi Minh City. At first he was head of a section, then he was promoted to the post of deputy head doctor, and now he has been head doctor for more than three years. He said:

"I am sincerely grateful to the people's government for giving me a chance to participate in the efforts of my people. We still live in the house we occupied before 1975. My wife is now deputy chairman of a neighbourhood people's committee. She spends much of her time attending to the everyday needs of the people of her community. Last year she was recommended for party membership. My children are studying and working. Nobody has ever reminded me of my past. But I cannot forget it. . . ."

Another doctor that has not forgotten his past is Ton That Sang, whom I interviewed several days before Dr Nam. In a camp where the former officers of the Saigon army are being reeducated.

Eleven years having passed since the southern part of the country was liberated from the puppet regime, there are very few camps of this kind in Vietnam today. As a rule, the period of reeducation is limited to three or four years. For instance, the camp I visited had no more than 300 inmates, their number having shrunk to one tenth over the past five years. They had all served in the puppet army in ranks ranging from lieutenant to colonel. In the past they were the most active "cogs" in the pro-American government machine: secret police agents, commandos and agents-provocateurs who have many a heinous crime on their conscience.

What was a doctor doing there? Ton That Sang, a former colonel of the medical corps from Da Nang, replied to my questions in monosyllables and with obvious reluctance. Finally, I learned that like Nguyen Hai Nam he had been released in 1976, but instead of returning to his peaceful profession, he engaged in counterrevolutionary activities. He organized several acts of sabotage and helped others like himself to cross the frontier illegally. He was arrested again, tried and sentenced to 10 years of corrective labour. But again, in camp, he tried to knock together a reactionary group. When I asked him what induced him to take this course of action, he replied immediately, I would say automatically:

"I was brought up in keeping with the laws of free society."

No, neither he nor any member of his family had been subjected to "cruel treatment" by the people's government. He himself was working at a medical station in the camp. This means that he does not have to do any hard physical

work. Once every two months his wife and son are permitted to visit him.

Mirrored in the fate of these two doctors is the tragedy of the Vietnamese people, who won their national unity through bitter struggle and who had to invest tremendous effort to overcome the aftermath of the prolonged aggression and division of the country. The people's government did not reject those who happened to be on the other side, it extended a helping hand to them. But so far not everyone has been willing to accept it. The inertia of old, outdated views still makes itself felt.

Reforming through labour is a delicate and complicated problem. The policy of the socialist state with regard to those who served the old regime boils down to the following: these people are also part of the Vietnamese nation, therefore, the door to the country's future will not always be closed to them. True, it will not be opened at once. Only through labour, through persistent effort to reform can they earn their right to be with the people.

The camp is situated in the province of Thuan Hai, some 140 kilometres east of Ho Chi Minh City. Though the soil here is fertile, the climate mild and the landscape picturesque, you can hardly call the place a resort. The fierce battles that swept the coast have strewn the land with shell fragments. The neglected soil, scorched by napalm and torn by the tracks of American tanks is being nursed back to life by those who trampled it with their army boots.

I have also been told about other camps now closed down. They have been replaced by state farms growing sugar cane, maize and sweet potatoes. One day this camp too will be reorganized into a state farm. But at present its inmates, besides farm work, engage in woodworking, furniture making and the traditional handicrafts. Like all other people the inmates have an eight-hour working day. It is true that the diet is not distinguished for variety. But this is a difficulty the whole nation faces today. The members of the inmates' families can visit them once every month or every two months. The people's government treats the families of war criminals as victims of U.S. aggression. And it is doing its best to make things easier for them.

The camp has sports grounds and a library which is regularly stocked with periodicals, including those published in other countries. A wall newspaper caught my eye. It contained several confessions, reflections about life and one's place in it.

Colonel Nguyen Van Phuc had been in charge of a division that engaged in the strategic planning of psychological warfare for the general staff of the Saigon army.

"In those days everything was clear to me," he told me. "The Communists, the Vietcong were our enemies and the Americans, the whole of the 'free world' were our friends. We urged the men to fight. I was sure I was doing the right thing. I had no doubt about it."

It so happened that my visit to the camp coincided with that of Nguyen Van Phuc's wife and daughter. Ha, aged 23, is a teacher of mathematics and member of the Ho Chi Minh Young Communist League. She said that, though her father was an ex-colonel of the Saigon army, neither she nor any other members of the family were subjected to anything like "vengeance." Ha's elder brother, also a Young Communist League member, worked at a motor vehicle repair works.

"What would you like to do after you are released?" I asked Nguyen Van Phuc.

"My civilian profession is mathematics. But I am afraid it will be difficult for me to work in a collective with a past like mine.... I have started growing flowers here."

In my files I have many clippings from Western papers with articles "in defence of human rights" in Vietnam. Some of them are about the "horrors" of corrective labour camps and about the "atrocities" perpetrated by the revolutionary authorities. What surprises me is that many of the authors of these articles have visited these camps, and I have seen some of their signatures in the Visitors' Book affixed to entries written in polite language.

The Vietnamese are not in the least concerned about the reactions of the Western press. The people have their practical problems and difficulties and they are coping with them to the best of their ability. They are solving them, though not overnight. As far as the reform camps are concerned, they will become a thing of the past in the not too distant future.

Ho Chi Minh City

MISCELLANY

● CONFLICT

TOO BUSY?

The Japanese government has denied Philippines President Corazon Aquino's request to address parliament during her Tokyo visit starting November 10. The Foreign Ministry explanation, according to Mainichi, is that the "tight timetable of parliamentary business" is responsible.

However, many think the reason entirely different. Officialdom fears Aquino's address would have induced opposition parties to call once again for a thorough inquiry into manipulations over financial aid to the deposed Marcos regime.

The opposition contends that some VIPs in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party are involved in malpractices. It claims that for heavy bribes they enabled Marcos administration officials to pocket a considerable portion of Japanese aid and also sanctioned senseless, costly "Japanese-Philippines friendship projects" that lined corporation coffers.

● FACTS AND NAMES

LONG BEFORE THE ELECTIONS

French President François Mitterrand, who turned 70 this October 26, has said he will not run at the 1988 elections. However, Reuters reports that he may revise his decision. At any rate, his Socialist comrades, former Premier Laurent Fabius and former National Assembly President Louis Mermaz have publicly asked him to do so. The only prominent Socialist openly seeking the presidency is 56-year-old Michel Rocard.

Other likely Socialist presidential candidates include former prime ministers Laurent Fabius and Pierre Mauroy and also former National Education Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement.

● STATISTICS

WOMEN IN UNIFORM

According to the Ministry of National Defence of Belgium, there are 3,417 women in its 60,000-strong armed forces, thus accounting for nearly 6 per cent of the personnel. Of this number 138 are officers, and another 640, noncoms.

Belgium ranks third [after the U.S. and Canada] among NATO countries in the number of women who have chosen the army as a career.

● RESOURCES

LOST REPORT

Large oil deposits have been discovered in Brazilian Amazonia at a depth of 1,400 metres, Brazilian President Jose Sarney has told newsmen. Until recently it was believed that there was no oil here. The local news media remind readers that in the early 1960s a team of Soviet scientists refuted Western experts as to the absence of oil deposits in Amazonia. The Soviet team had presented its report to the Brazilian government, but after the right-wing military regime's advent to power in 1964 this report disappeared.

Agreement to Disagree

—this was the main outcome of the annual session of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

This year's meetings of the two leading international crediting organizations, held in Washington from September 30 to October 3, were rather mediocre. As distinct from last year's session in Seoul where James Baker, the U.S. Treasury Secretary, set forth a plan for emergency financial aid to 15 indebted developing countries, no sensations seemed forthcoming this time. The outcome of the discussions was predetermined beforehand: the gist of what the representatives from 151 IMF and IBRD member states heard at the plenary meeting had already appeared in the papers.

The opening of the discussions was preceded, as usual, by a conference of the seven leading Western countries (the U.S., the F.R.G., Britain, France, Japan, Canada and Italy) which imposed their stand on the main items of the agenda upon the IMF Interim Committee, the Fund's policy making body. As to the finance ministers of many other countries, they knew the speakers' positions in advance. The Group of 24, representing the interests of the developing countries, made its line public before the discussions. It had been discussed beforehand in Gleneagles, Scotland, by the treasurers of 12 Common Market countries. The same had been done on St Lucia Island by finance ministers of 49 Commonwealth members. In a word, most of the statements made at the session came as nothing new. (As a matter of fact, one of the aides of Nigel Lawson, the British Chancellor, confessed to a Financial Times correspondent that he had fallen asleep while reading the draft of his chief's lacklustre speech.)

In a word, one gets the impression that Western financiers who set the tone at the discussions decided not to attract undue attention to the acute economic, currency and crediting problems of the world capitalist economy. The reasons for such reticence are only too obvious. The Western strategy of solving the debt problem, based on the premise that a favourable economic situation in the centres of world capitalism will cause economic recovery in the developing countries and detract from their foreign trade burden, has proved untenable. What's more, even the main capitalist "locomotive," the United States, is heading for an imminent cyclic crisis.

The West's failure to adopt a solution to the debt problem, the Group of 24 has stated, "not only is affecting the recovery of the world economy but makes the servicing of debt an intolerable burden." The Group is of the opinion that "growth-oriented economic adjustment programmes being adopted by the IMF were 'mere rhetoric' unless the present high level of net transfer of resources from developing to developed countries was reduced." At the U.N. experts' estimate the Third World paid out, in 1985, $70 billion in interest alone as against a mere $36 billion that flowed in from the West in credits, direct private investments and foreign aid. This year the situation has grown worse still. Contrary to the "Baker plan," private sources of crediting are actually running dry. The IBRD cannot and would not stir a finger. Although the developing countries' total debt has already topped a trillion dollar mark, the Bank has granted them a mere 13 billion in credits latterly. The Group of 24 has long been demanding more financial aid from the IBRD, but the Bank's Western bosses invariably refer them to private bankers.

The bankers are not running risks any longer, however. During the session this manifested itself, for instance, in fierce backstage arguments over the terms on which to grant Mexico (which already owes Western banks $97 billion) a six-billion loan.

Borrowing more in order to pay back old debts cannot solve the indebtedness problem, of course. The Third World can reduce its debt only by accelerating its economic growth and boosting its export trade—which most developing countries have failed to accomplish despite a relatively favourable economic situation in the West. The U.N. statistics show that in 83 developing countries with a total population of 700 million, production and export earnings either stagnated or fell in 1985. As a result, the developing countries' total debt is now 68 per cent in excess of their overall export earnings, the IMF testifies. This means that they will have to go on curtailing their imports in order to lighten their debt burden. This, in turn, will tell on the economy of the West. The U.S., which markets more than 30 per cent of its exports in the Third World, will be the hardest hit.

This is why, U.S. News and World Report pointed out, "fixing responsibility for the slowdown in world trade is of consuming concern" to the Western participants. Most industrialized countries, the F.R.G. above all, the weekly writes, "have long and loudly insisted that huge U.S. budget deficits are the main reason world growth and trade are less than they should be." The U.S. Treasury borrows enormous sums to make up for the deficits with the result that high bank interest rates remain, business is slackening, and foreign trade deficit growing.

Those in Washington think otherwise. They lay the blame for the United States' huge foreign trade deficit on Bonn and Tokyo which could work for the common good but are not in a hurry to do so. Washington gives its partners to understand that if they don't "see reason" the U.S. will push the dollar further down or take protectionist measures. As for the budget deficit, the White House would make no concessions. Small wonder, too: deficit reduction presupposes a cut in military spending which the Administration wouldn't hear of.

A sharp disagreement between the United States and other members of the Group of Seven found no reflection in the final document of the IMF and IBRD session. Western financiers had hardly expected it to amount to much, apart from wishful thinking. In the face of an oncoming economic slump fraught with the aggravation of the debt crisis, they'd rather agree on disagreement than admit defeat.

F. GORYUNOV

Maltreatment of the environment over the years prompts the question:

Is Man Really the Master of Nature?

ALEXEI ANTIPOV,
assistant editor-in-chief of the magazine Priroda

Today anyone is likely to answer this question: "No, not master, or king but a part of Nature." Yet, granted kings have the prerogative of pardon or punishment, he is king. We have built up enormous might, which keeps growing, and so we may punish Nature even inadvertently, without malicious intent, so to speak. In this way, however, we punish ourselves too, sentencing ourselves to rule over a lifeless desert.

It was not long ago that we grew aware of the fragility and vulnerability of our natural environment. The once popular adage is still lingering in memory: "We cannot wait for alms from Nature: our duty is to take them from it." The interpretation of the idea behind it, moreover, went much farther and small wonder that many young people rephrased it as follows: "We cannot wait for alms from Nature after what has been done to it." People themselves called the biological species they belong to Homo sapiens and today reason should be strained to a greater extent than ever before to preserve its natural habitat.

The history of the human race is not so long from the geological point of view, a mere few million years. It was only during the past few millennia that Nature came to depend on human activity. People themselves were entirely dominated by Nature during millions of years and even our very origin was closely involved with changes in the climate and the subsequent evolution of the natural environment. But if that is so and if it was only in the recent "moments" that we began to affect Nature, we should be aware that the continuation of this tactic is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

The Beginnings

There were two landmarks in the evolution of man: one occurring 5-6 and the other 2-2.5 million years ago. One, the emergence of the Australopithecus genus, a stepping stone from the higher primates to the primeval humans, and the other, the emergence of the Homo species, skilled humans.

Meanwhile, global environmental changes were taking place at that time. It was 5-6 million years ago that the Earth climate became dramatically colder. The Antarctic got its ice cap, which not only caused a 70-metre drop in the sea level but also made the climate much drier. Tropical forests began to disappear, giving way to vast savannas and open steppes. These processes forced the ancient primates to assume upright stature. Unlike travel from tree to tree in the tropical forest, which called predominantly for the development of the forelimbs, life in the open space of the savannas made them constantly rise on the hind limbs. Another important change affected the diet: there were less fruits and a need for meat arose.

Then came another climatic upheaval, another drop in the temperature, now caused by the attack of ice in the Northern Hemisphere. The first ice appeared in Iceland a little more than three million years ago, and in another 500,000 years the Arctic basin glaciated and the forests in Europe retreated far southwards to be replaced by plains.

Major shifts in the natural environment made our remote ancestors mobilize all the abilities and skills that evolution had given them. The rigorous conditions in which they found themselves became a filter letting through into our time only the more advanced groups. Man arose in the natural environment as a creature of open spaces and even today he is attracted to them. Nature shaped up the primitive man as first and foremost a hunter and open spaces with vast herds of wild animals were for people more productive than the forests. In the subsequent period, including the ages of civilization, man grew stronger and began to destroy forests at will, broadening open spaces which were richer in food resources. Little by little he began to modify Nature at his discretion.

A Bottle of Milk for Half a Bottle of Oil

When the damage done to Nature is discussed, the adverse side effects of the growth of industry and power engineering are the first to be noted. But the earliest types of human economic activity involved the procurement of food, in particular, the cultiva-

tion of land, and the expansion of crop farming and livestock breeding. As far back as 17,000 years ago, a mere three million people lived on Earth. In another 8,000 years the figure grew to 10 million, and it was roughly at that time that farming originated and people began to till the land with primitive implements and to domesticate animals. In the next 5,000 years the human race reached 50 million. There lived 230 million people on Earth at the dawn of our age. U.N. experts estimate that the world will be peopled by 6-7 billion by the year 2000. The paramount task now is to provide food for them all, and both industry and power engineering today contribute to its accomplishment. Indeed, agriculture now expends at least 40 per cent of the world's power output and employs about half the world's population.

But paradoxical as it is, while new technology is developed, while man emerges into space, synthesizes materials which are not found in Nature and has harnessed atomic energy, agricultural production remains in many ways what it has been over the centuries. The farming processes still boil down to traditional land tilling, plant cultivation, and harvesting. Even today the fields and farms grow only those few species which man selected at the time of primitive livestock breeding and crop farming. They have improved over 10,000 years and their yields have grown dozens of times, of course, but these are quantitative, not qualitative changes.

Moreover, they have been achieved in a rather paradoxical way: quite unconventional machines, chemical compounds and processing and storage techniques are introduced in conventional agriculture. Opening up ever larger areas for cultivation, man provided adequate food supply for the growing world population while destroying huge expanses of the forests and steppes. Whole regions began to dry up and the ecological situation deteriorated. Intensive soil cultivation boosted yields but increased soil erosion and reduced the humus contents in soils. To replace the losses of nutrients absorbed by a succession of crops, artificial fertilizers began to be introduced, not without effect on the condition of the environment and the quality of produce. High-capacity technology raised labour productivity but overcondensed soil and upset its structure. It caused a dramatic rise in the power costs of farm output. According to some estimates, power contained in half a bottle of oil is expended to produce a bottle of milk. About 9 calories of mineral fuel is expended to produce one calory of food.

The high power costs of livestock breeding led some specialists to the conclusion that in the 21st century meat and dairy products will be a luxury for most of the world population. Man will have to develop processes to extract full-value proteins from the green vegetative mass, to learn to process vegetarian components into "meat."

Millions of years ago Nature forced our anthropoid ancestors to give up their vegetarian diet so that they should become humans. Today, we are about to revert to vegetarian diets to remain humans. It will be not a mere reversal, however, but a fundamentally new approach to the basic problem of how man can feed himself and remain in harmony with Nature.

Over the centuries people viewed vast ploughlands as a symbol of their might and prosperity. In the last 100 years, however, erosion destroyed topsoil on more than a quarter of all ploughlands. We are now reversing to the minimum soil cultivation, learning from Nature how to restore soil fertility.

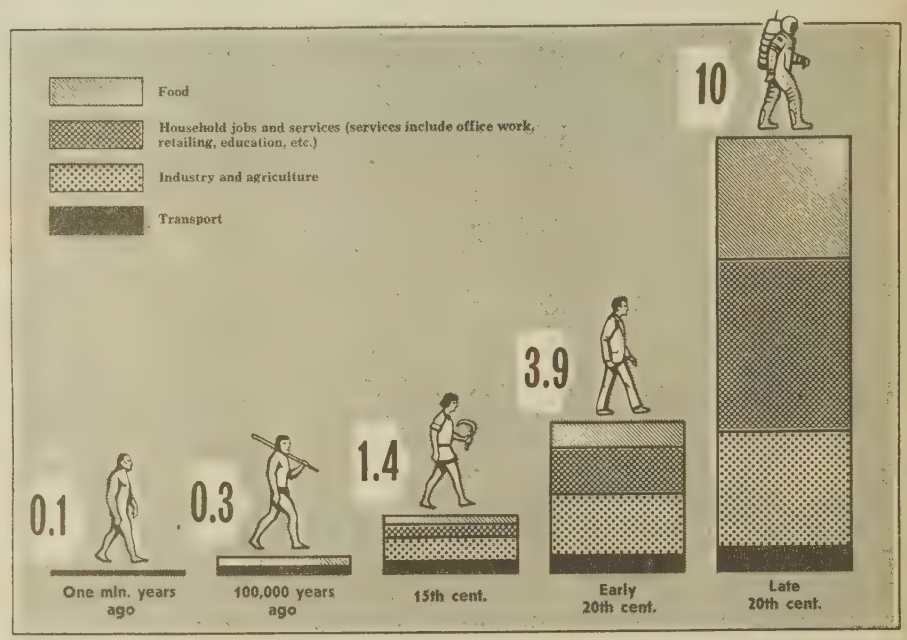
Scientists estimate that the productivity of the humid tropical forest, for instance, is 4-5 times superior to that of high-yield rice paddies in Japan. Generally speaking, the productivity of natural communities, such as forest, plains and the coastal zones of the ocean, is far higher than that of artificial ones. Man, a creature of open spaces, sees his future in an environment of forests. Yet planning a return to forms of existence that are prehistoric in a sense, man is giving them new contents and marches into the future well-equipped with the achievements of today's science and technology, including genetics, selection and agroecology.

Nuclear El Dorado

Recent archeological and biological studies in the Far East have demonstrated that several millennia ago coastal tribes which fished oysters in the shallows knew the "secrets" of today's aquaculture. They sorted out their catch by size and threw the smaller oysters back into the ocean, thus "sowing" in the primordial marine plantations a bumper harvest of the future. Today we rediscover the principles of ecological thinking and pin the future of humanity, and with good reason, on the extent to which we will be able to foster these principles in the succeeding generations.

To live in harmony with Nature does not mean to fold up industrial activity, even those types of it which are potentially dangerous to the environment and human health. It does not mean either that we should confine ourselves to Nature protection measures. To embrace ecological thinking in earnest is to take account of the most complex relationships in the communities of organisms and not to forget for a single moment that man, "master of Nature," is not at all free from those relationships.

The development of ecological think-



Average annual per capita energy consumption throughout human history. Figures for the 20th century have been derived from statistics for industrialized countries. The 1980 annual per capita energy consumption was 12.9 kw in the U.S., 7.3 in the U.S.S.R., 7.1 in the F.R.G., 6 in Britain, 1.1 in Turkey and 0.9 in the People's Republic of China.

ing is a difficult, dramatic process which still is in its early stages. Regrettably, the evolution of that thinking went through enormous mistakes and delusions, the "dead zone" of Erie, one of America's Great Lakes, the lifeless rivers of Europe, the acid rains of Scandinavia, the lessons of Baikal and designs to reroute rivers.

The seriousness with which the U.S.S.R. approaches these questions today is illustrated by the recent decision to abandon the scheme for rerouting part of the flow of the Siberian and northern rivers. The emphasis now is on providing a more sound scientific substantiation for the regional redistribution of water resources. That decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. says that comprehensive economic and ecological studies using advanced economic-mathematical methods and technical facilities should be conducted and domestic and foreign experience drawn upon.

The rapid growth of nuclear power engineering is an impressive example of a programme well-thought-out economically and ecologically. Today, after the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station, it is even more important—even though hard—to say so publicly.

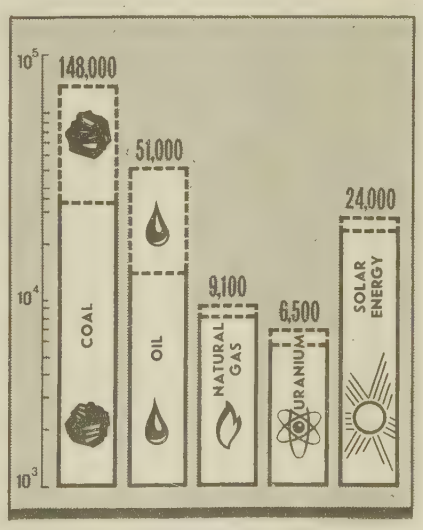
Many experts believe that the welfare of society stands in direct proportion to the per capita energy generation. The history of our civilization is in a sense the history of harnessing ever new sources of energy and methods of converting and using it.

People learned to make fire a million years ago at the earliest. Fire has been going on under human control ever since that time, first in fires burnt in their caves, then in the hearths of primitive huts and the furnaces of the world's first potters and smiths, then under the boilers of steam engines, and on and on all the way to space launching sites and launching pads on the Moon. At first the fuel was firewood, coal and peat, then oil and gas and eventually sophisticated products of today's chemical industry. The chaos of fire brought about quite a few misfortunes: forests and crops, homesteads and villages, plants and cities were consumed by fire, furnaces and engines blew up and people died. The world will long remember the fiery trail of the Challenger, which inscribed in the skies the grim warning which effectively said, "No, you are not master!"

Yet people learned to burn everything combustible to meet their needs. And on the threshold of this century the more perspicacious of them first wondered if the world's fuel resources were boundless and what man should do when all the combustible materials had been used up.

In 1912 British chemist Frederick Soddy wrote that sooner or later—but in a not very distant future—there would be nothing left on Earth to sustain the natural expenditure of energy except the original reserves of atomic energy. Hardly anyone except a narrow community of scientists heeded those words at the time. A mere 42 years later the Soviet Union put into operation the world's first atomic power station. Its capacity was just 5,000 kilowatts but it was a fundamentally new energy source. The station did not consume mineral fuel, there was no fire or burning: heat was generated in its reactor through the fission of uranium nuclei.

The problem of fuel resources was thus resolved on a global scale and the threat of power famine put off by centuries. Indeed, if power engineering had continued to develop without reliance on atomic power stations, the stocks of organic fuel on Earth would have lasted only till the year 2100 according to the most conservative estimates. But oil, gas and coal are also valuable industrial raw materials for



Relative risks in the generation of equal amounts of energy (1,000,000 kw a year) with the use of different fuels. The generalized characteristic of these hazards—the number of lost man-days due to disability (death, disease, injury, etc.)—is plotted on the vertical axis on a logarythmic scale. The hazards involved not only in the final phases of power generation—the operation of power stations—but also in the early phases, including the extraction, transportation, storage and processing of raw materials and the construction, assembly and operation of power equipment of diverse types are taken account of. The broken lines show the scatter of the available data.

Courtesy of magazine Priroda

housing construction, clothing, medicines and even food. Moreover, if we bear in mind that the deposits of mineral fuel are distributed very unevenly in the world, it is easy to imagine that the development of the conventional power industry would at some point in the future become interlocked with problems of economic stability. An evaluation of the uranium stocks and an analysis of the efficiency of its use in heat and fast neutron reactors forcefully show that mankind does not face the threat of energy starvation. We now have enough time thoroughly to think over the urgent problems of social development.

One of these problems is to make nuclear power engineering safer. At the very dawn of nuclear power engineering in the U.S.S.R., safety both to human health and to the environment was in the focus of expert attention here. The operation of reactors of different yields and designs over the past 30 years has convinced the world that nuclear power engineering is the most advanced and the least environment-polluting sector of the power industry. The radiation doses to which people are exposed at a distance of a few kilometres from an operating 1,000,000-kilowatt atomic power plant are just one thousandth of the natural radiation background; the figure speaks for itself.

Meanwhile, a thermal power plant of the same capacity which burns coal, according to the estimates of American specialists, releases so much sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere as to cause 25 deaths and 60,000 afflictions of upper respiratorial tracts a year. Losses through the corrosion of different materials amount to $12 million. Carcinogens are also released into the atmosphere by coal burning. An analysis of data for England and Wales in the 1950s showed that per capita coal consumption increase by one ton a year raised the lung cancer mortality rate substantially, by 142 cases a year in a city with a population of one million.

The conventional power industry releases a huge quantity of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. It blankets the Earth, causing a gradual rise in the average air temperature. This phenomenon is known as the hothouse effect, and Soviet and American specialists who discussed it in 1982 drew the conclusion that the power industry relying on mineral fuel would push up the average air temperature at the Earth's surface by 1-2 degrees in the year 2000 and by 3-5 degrees in 2050 (as compared with the end of last century). Meanwhile, a one-degree rise in temperature can cause a drop of 1-3 per cent in world food production. Nuclear power engineering

is free from these drawbacks and small wonder that by the end of 1984 its share in the world's power generation had already reached roughly 11 per cent.

In short, nuclear power engineering is an outstanding achievement of human reason and the highest accomplishment so far of ecological thinking. Accidents at atomic power stations, including the Chernobyl plant, are not likely seriously to affect the growth rates of the nuclear power industry—but people should learn the lesson. Accidents graphically demonstrate what a formidable force man has harnessed and how much caution and foresight he should display in taking every new step in that field. Specialists agree that there is much room for improvement in reactor technology, primarily in terms of safety, and international cooperation is to play a great role here.

A Few Words About Solar Energy

Some people, especially Westerners, have always frowned upon nuclear energy. On the one hand, these sentiments have been fueled by discussions on the real problems of radioactive waste disposal and the potential risks of radioactive contamination and, on the other, by their awareness that nuclear power engineering today is a very sophisticated industry and that its novelty and lack of substantive experience are fraught with risks and hazards. But the main reason for these sentiments is the "A-bomb syndrome," that is, the inadvertent association between the civilian and military applications of nuclear energy. The problem should be resolved, however, not by closing atomic power stations but by achieving stability and a lasting peace, disarmament and guarantees that civilian nuclear projects will never be destroyed by weapons of any type.

The opponents of nuclear power usually urge more efforts to develop renewable energy sources, primarily to convert and use solar energy. Studies in that field are being conducted on a large scale. But three circumstances should be taken into account as we consider the situation with solar energy. First, even if scientists came up with realistic proposals for the development of solar power engineering today, it would take at least 15-20 years to resolve the technological, social and economic tasks involved in its development. But society cannot stand still for that period: energy supply must never stop. This means that atomic power stations are needed even in such a hypothetic situation. Yet many specialists warn that we can hardly hope for a substantial contribution of solar power to the world's energy budget in the foreseeable future.

Second, solar radiation has a low intensity, not more than 0.25 kilowatt per square metre of surface. If solar power is to meet the world's energy needs in the year 2100, for instance, it will have to be "collected" from an area of three million sq km. Meanwhile, the entire area of ploughland today is roughly 14 million sq km.

Third, as Canadian specialists have estimated, it will take dozens of billions of tons of various materials to build solar power technology. As a reference, the world today extracts about 20 billion tons of ores and by-product rock a year. Clearly, if such amounts of raw materials are to be extracted for the solar power industry alone, and processed into final products, the environment will be badly polluted as a result.

Scientists are yet to develop optimum patterns for the growth of the world power industry. Yet the experience already gained in the operation of atomic power plants shows that man can and must live in harmony with Nature.

• • •

Our civilization has now reached a crucial juncture in its development. The global problems staring man in the face—such as the problems of war and peace and the ecological, energy and food problems—are a repeat of sorts of those prehistoric conditions in which our ancestors had the choice between becoming humans or vanishing without trace. They became humans, conquerors of Nature. We must remain humans by harmonizing with Nature—specifically by revising our attitude to it, and to one another. This is an imperative of contemporary life. ■

Today, when the very existence of mankind is at stake, the social responsibility of the mass media, the theoreticians and practical workers of the press, radio and television is greater than ever. The effect of the scientific and technological revolution on the methods and scale of news communication have increased the influence of the spoken and printed word on public opinion and, in the final analysis, on the political and economic development of countries and regions, indeed, on international relations in general.

The International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), which ranks quite prominently among the organizations concerned with the role of journalism in the contemporary world, met for its 15th general assembly in Delhi early this autumn. At the same time the Indian capital was the venue of a routine IAMCR-sponsored international scientific conference attended by nearly 400 mass media experts from over 40 countries of all continents.

"Communication Technology, Development and Third World" was the main subject of discussion at the conference which examined many important aspects of the organization and content of mass communications at national and global levels. These questions were discussed above all from the standpoint of the interests of the developing states. The leaders of these countries and their public opinion are gravely concerned over neocolonialist tendencies that are being increasingly manifested in the mass media.

The Delhi meeting concentrated on the dual problem of combating information imperialism, on the one hand, and working out the concept of a new international information order, on the other. The discussion was keynoted by the theme of the journalist's responsibility in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Many speakers at the conference pointed out that resolute opposition to information imperialism was all the more pressing since its penetration into the developing countries increasingly assumes the forms of open psychological warfare. Howard Frederick of the U.S. illustrated the danger of this ideological aggression by citing Washington's anti-Sandinist campaign. He said that "electronic penetration" or "this electronic war of ideas" does no less harm to democratic Nicaragua than raids by the contras and the economic blockade imposed on it by the Reagan Administration. Describing the actions by the North American, Honduran and Costa Rican radio and TV saboteurs as a vio-

Against Information Imperialism

THE JOURNALIST'S SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ● ELECTRONIC INVASION OF NICARAGUA BY WASHINGTON ● INDIA: USEFUL EXPERIENCE ● EQUALITY AND JUSTICE—THE BASIS OF A NEW INFORMATION ORDER

ation of international law, Howard Frederick said that all of them should be brought before the International Court of Justice.

Shri Partasarathi, prominent statesman and political leader of India, referred to the conference as "a landmark in the process of democratization and decolonization of world communication." Much of the credit for this goes to scientists of Asian countries—including, of course, the hosts of the conference. Incidentally, there has appeared in India a serious school of research in the sphere of journalism. The fact that an exhibition of special literature, timed to coincide with the conference, contained many books by Indian authors and that 30 universities of the country have journalism faculties is evidence of this.

Many theoretical concepts by Indian experts are being successfully put into practice. The papers submitted for discussion showed that this great Asian power had achieved notable success in overcoming the pressure from the information and propaganda monopolies of the capitalist West. India's efforts towards independence of the mass media and in the sphere of culture are bearing fruit. The distinctive and ingenious solutions to these problems offered ought to be drawn upon by other developing countries, many speakers pointed out.

The shortage of funds and of the technical facilities needed for building up an efficient system of communication is the main reason why Third World countries find it hard so far to put an end to inequality and imbalance in their exchange of information with the imperialist partners. Until this neocolonialist dependence is ended the young states will be in no position to gear the press, radio and television to their own needs and aspirations.

It was generally agreed that the sway of the transnational communication empires has to be replaced by a new information order based on equality and justice. The UNESCO declaration of 1978, universally approved in the Third World, calls for precisely that. It condemns the ideological expansion of the bourgeois monopolies of information media and insists that disproportions be removed from the sphere of exchange of information which should conform to precisely defined international standards.

The realization that journalists must not allow preoccupation with purely professional problems to deter them from publicizing moral and social values serving the cause of peace, freedom, independence and national self-awareness was clearly demonstrated by the Delhi conference. It was repeatedly pointed out at the meeting that two dangers had arisen—that of being hypnotized by the "unlimited" potential of new communication technology, on the one hand, and that of abandoning modern technology altogether for fear of the depraving influence of the bourgeois mass media.

Speaking of this complicated dilemma, Shri Partasarathi and other participants in the discussion urged developing countries to learn how to use the new technology in their own interests, i.e., taking into account their own socio-economic priorities and the specific features of their national cultures. Any other approach is fraught with the danger of social tension and may prevent the developing countries from ridding themselves once and for all of the legacy of colonialism.

It is worth noting in this connection that in just two years India has succeeded in establishing a far-flung network of television stations interconnected by national communication satellites. The technically and financially difficult problem of building up a national television system has been solved. Next comes the problem, as enormous in its territorial and socio-economic magnitude as it is urgent, of introducing television programmes in regional languages.

The vital importance of the interconnection between the technology and content of mass communication is evidenced by the fact that the above-mentioned provisions were approved by many conference participants, namely by Kwame Boafo (Ghana), Aggrey Brown (Jamaica), John Lent (U.S.A.), Zoltan Jakob (Hungary).

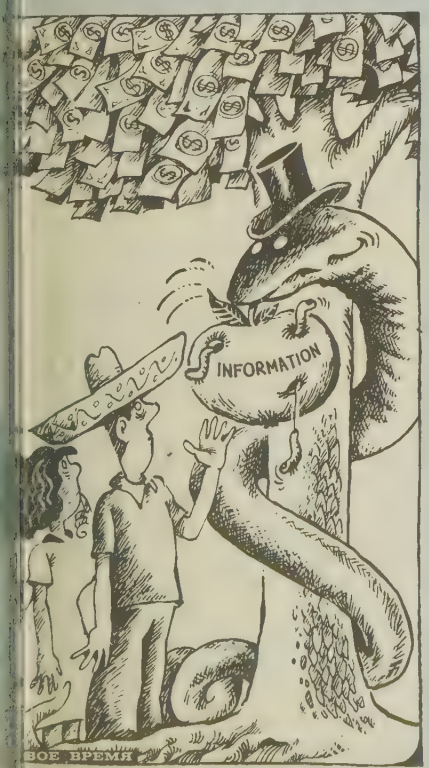
And lastly, most speakers pointed to the role played by the mass media in opposing the war danger, in the fight for disarmament. In the sector devoted to the training of professional journalists special attention was paid to the problems involved in educating newsmen in the spirit of dedication to the ideas of peace, international understanding and international security.

It was proposed that U.N. and UNESCO documents, dealing with the contribution the press, radio and television can make to the assertion of the lofty ideals of the U.N. Charter, be included in the curricula of the departments and faculties of journalism. Moreover, the UNESCO was asked to issue recommendations on the education of journalists in the spirit of peace.

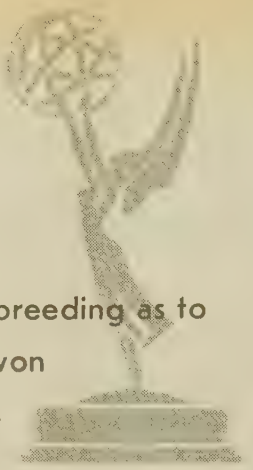
Professor Y. ZASURSKY
our special correspondent

Delhi—Moscow

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov



An Emmy for Peter



"A regal carriage is due not so much to breeding as to heavy gowns," says Ella Maklakova who won the American TV Academy's Emmy Award

It is probably not so difficult to design a modern costume with elements of clothes that were worn in the 17th and 18th centuries. Influences of even more distant epochs are felt in what fashion-conscious women wear today. But to recreate a genuine 18th-century costume that would take its wearer into the past with the accuracy of a time machine is a formidable task. Here is a problem and a profession. Our correspondent Lev Yelin has interviewed ELLA MAKLAKOVA who has been named best costume designer in the United States for her work in the film "Peter the Great," produced by the NBC network with the technical assistance of the Gorky Studios in Moscow. "Peter the Great" was declared the best television serial in the United States in the 1985-86 season.

Soviet and many foreign viewers have seen the film about Peter the First made by the late Soviet director Sergei Gerasimov. In what ways is the American "Peter" different?

My group of costume designers worked on Gerasimov's film. Lawrence Schiller, the first director of the American "Peter the Great," saw the film and liked its visual style. So, he enlisted the services of the same costume designer. In this respect, I believe, the two versions are similar. As for the rest....

The eight-part "Peter the Great" traces almost the entire life of Peter—from the age of ten to his last days. But the film's script deserves to be criticized, especially for its inventions. The life story of Peter the Great is so interesting in itself that there is no need to invent anything to heighten viewers' interest. As it was, the Americans let their imagination run wild. True, the script was based on Robert Massie's book "Peter the Great: His Life and World" which our historians regard as a competent study. But the director Schiller changed the script beyond recognition. There appeared numerous historical inaccuracies, even gross errors.

Take, for instance, such a known fact: Marta, the future Empress Catherine of Russia, was a foreigner captured by Russian soldiers during a war with the Swedes. Schiller changed everything: Catherine is seized not from the Swedes but from ... Turks during Peter's first Azov campaign! Why? It is more thrilling this way, says the director: imagine F.R.G. actress Hanna Schygulla, the blue-eyed blonde who plays the role of Catherine, among swarthy janizaries! Yataghans, severed heads, a belly dance and all other soap opera paraphernalia.

The film has already been criticized in the Soviet press for its cavalier treatment of historical facts. But perhaps the advocates of the documentary, historical approach are too strict?

The Americans did not set themselves a high standard from the outset. Their purpose was to make an entertaining film. True, the film is flashy, but at the cost of historical truth and many other faults. Are we perhaps too harsh? Dumas, for instance, did with his kings whatever he liked and this is not considered a mortal sin.... But, I repeat, Peter's history is extremely interesting in itself.... And then, not all the inaccuracies are harmless. For example, why portray Menshikov, Peter's associate from the years of his youth, as a bandit and murderer?

Having criticized the authors let us try to understand why in the end "Peter the Great" turned out to be something better than just a soap opera!

The film was made by professionals. The cast was very impressive. NBC provided enough money to hire eleven world stars. Among them were Maximilian Schell, Lilli Palmer, Hanna Schygulla, Vanessa Redgrave, Laurence Olivier, Jeremy Kemp, Omar Sharif, Ursula Andress. Forty-four actors in all, twenty-one of them Soviet. I would single out Natalya Andreichenko and Boris Plotnikov.

As I have already said, Schiller was the director at first. But he did not suit NBC, probably for financial considerations. So Marvin Chomsky replaced him.

Makeup was entrusted to the famous Italian group, the Rossi clan of makeup artists, who worked with Fellini on his "Casanova." The first cinematographer employed was British. He demanded that colour in the costumes and sets be "killed." But then he was replaced by the brilliant Italian master Vittorio Storaro, who works mostly in the United States with director Francis Coppola. Storaro came rather late. Besides, it was his first encounter with Russian culture. He began with the Tretyakov Gallery. He went there in the morning and by evening had come up with a visual conception. Storaro asked me to be his "constructive ally," as he put it. His idea was to start with maximum colour (Peter's childhood) phasing it almost down to zero in the last episode. Such was our mutual agreement. I think the cameraman should take most of the credit for "Peter."

Speaking of the film's success I would like to say also about the production designer Alexander Popov and dozens of other masters from the Gorky Studios. It took a tremendous amount of work to build a wooden town near Suzdal, a replica of the ancient centre of Moscow. The wooden houses for the sets were built not with three walls as is the custom in location shooting, but with four, making it a real dwelling.

The cameraman Storaro got the feel of the epoch with the help of the Tretyakov Gallery. What about you?

The process of "getting the feel of the epoch" depends on how well you know it. My profession in general presupposes knowledge of the history of costumes. But every time I prepare all over again. Were it not for Gerasimov's film that preceded "Peter the Great" I would have needed at least three months. But I already knew where to go and what to use. I found samples of material and cut in the Museum of History, the Moscow Armoury Chamber and in the Hermitage. Everything was copied. Of course, not a single costume of those days can be used exactly because figures and proportions have changed. Besides, Peter was a giant of a man while all the three actors who played him in the film are not very tall.

Twenty people worked on the costumes. Four artists, each working in-

dependently and with her own theme, say the boyars, the military, etc., made the costumes from my sketches (there were some 500). Each produced almost a thousand costumes! Evgenia Chervonskaya, Natalya Polyakh and Elena Medvedeva worked with me during the filming while the Italian Sibylle Ulsamer had my sketches sent to her in Rome. Costumes were made in Moscow, in Munich, mostly in Rome. An Italian firm began making them without samples, proceeding only from sketches. And it did a marvelous job. Alterations had to be made only in the first batch of costumes.

But the fabrics were not of the 17-18th but of the 20th century!

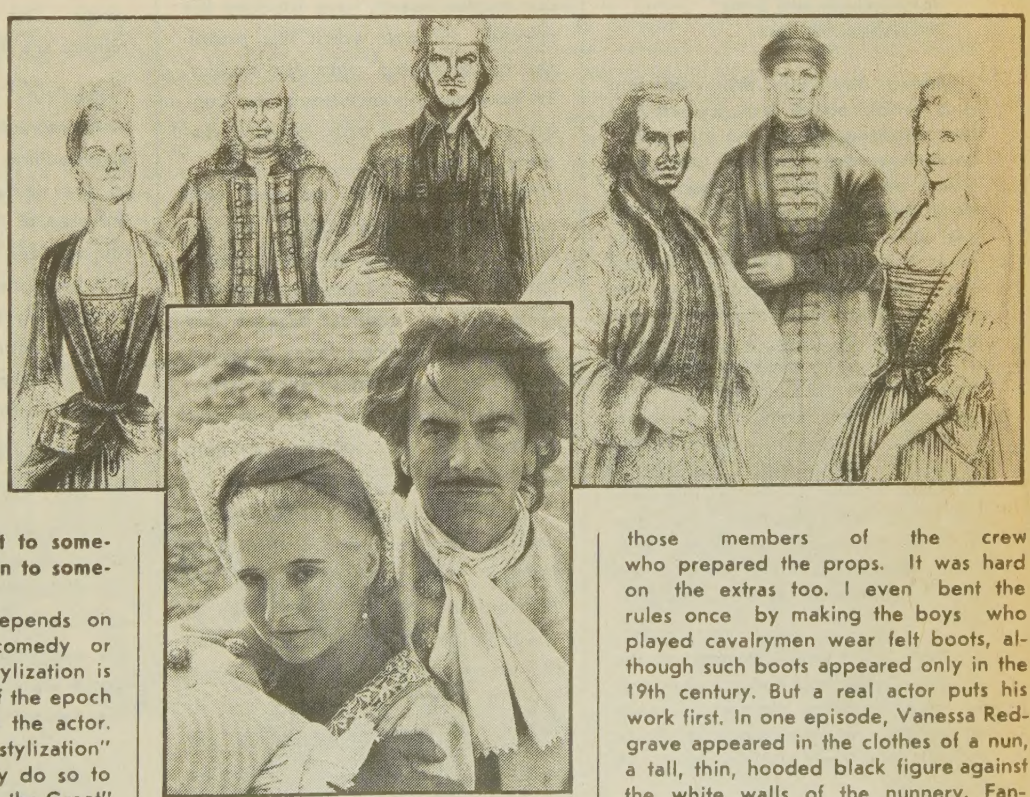
No, the fabrics were exactly of the type favoured by Peter and his court. They, too, were purchased in Italy where several local firms still produce such draperies. As to the silk and cloth for European costumes, this was supplied by an F.R.G. firm. I did not fake a single fabric!

Still I find it hard to believe that the pampered stars agreed to wear the cumbersome costumes of those days without demanding changes in cut, fabrics and colour. Don't tell me that you did not have to adjust to somebody's appearance, to give in to somebody's taste and whims.

In principle everything depends on the genre. If it is a musical comedy or an eccentric comedy, then stylization is assumed. We take the style of the epoch and then produce what suits the actor. But when we use the word "stylization" in a historical film we usually do so to cover up ignorance. In "Peter the Great" we strove for the greatest authenticity.

We had veritable battles during the shooting of the film. For instance, the Americans had filmed a whole scene in which Russians make the sign of the cross with hats on their heads! It had to be remade. As to the stars, of course they had a tough time. Our Natalya Andreichenko, who played Eudoxia, Peter's first wife, had to wear a five-layered garment and a crown weighing 30 kilogrammes! A regal carriage is due not so much to breeding as to heavy gowns... At first Natasha grumbled but then she took the crown to her hotel to practise wearing it. She must have fallen over more than once, she even broke the cross. But in the end she made it. The costume constrained her, so that she could act only with her face. And how she acted!

Vanessa Redgrave played the role of the Russian princess Sophia. She had formed an idea of Sophia that had little to do with reality. Before the first fitting in Italy, I was warned about possible complications. Indeed, I encountered silent resistance. Redgrave rejected the costumes. She had a choice: to reject the role or the costume designer. I gave Vanessa a book by Ryabushkin, an early 20th-century Russian artist who made compositions based on Peter's times. She began to leaf through it and got carried away. The effect was amazing. It was impossible to make Vanessa Redgrave "part" with her new image of Sophia. She appeared on location with a face powdered white, brightly painted cheeks and blackened eyelashes and eyebrows.



A still from the film with Maximilian Schell as Peter, and Hanna Schygulla as Catherine. Above are costume sketches for Peter, Sophia, Catherine and Gordon by Ella Maklakova.

When I first saw the delicate Lilli Palmer somebody whispered in my ear: "She's seventy, don't torture her with your heavy fur coats." But Palmer became enchanted with the exotic garments and endured everything.

You must have had less problems with the men!

I wouldn't say so. Peter was played by three adult actors and a boy. It was extremely difficult to combine them into a single person. I introduced the next actor in the costume of his predecessor, but the similarity was only from the back. Here everything depends on the selection of actors. The young Peter was played by Jan Nik'las, a gifted actor capable of subtly conveying the whole range of emotions. Had he played the adult Peter to the end the role would have only gained. But Nik'las was not a star. It was Maximilian Schell who was the star, and there was nothing that I could do with him. He is extremely health-conscious. He would not part with the black scarf that he wears off screen. In all the winter scenes he put on so many clothes that he looked like a squat muzhik. It was quite a job to make him look taller to resemble Peter. We made him high-heeled boots. But Schell insisted on coming to the set wearing his own boots because they were warmer. And the entire crew would then think how to keep the camera away from those boots.

But conditions were really tough. That winter near Suzdal temperatures dropped to minus 40° C....

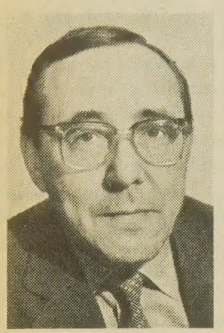
Of course, it was tough, especially for those members of the crew who prepared the props. It was hard on the extras too. I even bent the rules once by making the boys who played cavalrymen wear felt boots, although such boots appeared only in the 19th century. But a real actor puts his work first. In one episode, Vanessa Redgrave appeared in the clothes of a nun, a tall, thin, hooded black figure against the white walls of the nunnery. Fantastically beautiful. The scene was shot in Suzdal in 40-degree frost. Everybody on location tried to put on some warm clothes under their costumes, and became plump. But Vanessa realized that it would ruin her look. Walking in a slow, majestic step she appeared wearing just a cassock, even without gloves!

■

TAKING UP A POINT

Is drug addiction a problem in the Soviet Union? Here in Scotland it has acquired catastrophic proportions. The local authorities are trying to take some measures but they are of little effect. What is being done in your country to stop this terrible evil from spreading!

Catherine KELLY
Edinburgh, United Kingdom



Professor NIKOLAI IVANETS, Chairman of the Commission of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences for Clinical Picture, Diagnosis and Treatment of Alcoholism, Toxicomania and Drug Addiction, replies:

Indeed, Mrs Kelly, drug addiction is a terrible social evil, an evil that has not bypassed us. As a doctor I know how damaging this addiction is to a person's health. It leads to an early mental, as well as physical, decay. Drug addicts are far more difficult to treat than alcoholics. Hence the importance of preventing the disease, blocking all channels for the distribution of drugs and conducting a well-planned campaign explaining the need to combat this evil. No denying it, Mrs Kelly, this problem does not have any easy solutions although, I must say, it is not as alarming in this country as in a number of capitalist countries. This is due both to the overall social and economic conditions in the Soviet Union and the measures taken by the government.

There is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R. Living and cultural standards are steadily rising. We have eliminated such social phenomena as prostitution, pauperism and vagrancy. All this restrains the spread of drugs and drug addiction.

The main problem at present is the abuse of home-made drugs made from wild-growing or cultivated hemp and poppy. The fact of the matter is that in some regions in this country there are large tracts of land covered with wild-growing varieties of hemp which can be gathered by anyone. The campaign to control the collection and marketing of the hemp is covered extensively by the press.

As I have already mentioned, there are unfortunately individuals in this country who help to spread drugs for personal gain. We also know that our border guards have blocked the channels through which this poison can be smuggled into the country. So we keep this problem under control preventing it from reaching disastrous proportions.

What methods do we use? First and foremost—prevention. For example, the Ministry of Public Health limits the range of narcotic preparations used in medical practice and very strictly controls those preparations that cause pathological addiction. All in all, only nine narcotic preparations are used in medical practice.

All the preparations under international control are listed in this country and their use is regulated by relevant legislation. I would like to specially emphasize, Mrs Kelly, that the manufacture of narcotic preparations is under state control and its volume is determined solely by medical and scientific considerations.

Second, the law-enforcement agencies are acting most resolutely. The planting of those varieties of hemp and poppy that serve as initial products for the manufacture of drugs is prohibited in the Soviet Union (though lately we have had violations of the ban). The production of heroine and lysergic acid derivatives is prohibited.

Under Soviet legislation it is a grave criminal offence to violate the rules of storing, accounting and dispensing narcotic preparations, to manufacture, purchase and sell them illegally, to plant and cultivate banned narcotics-containing plants. The legislation of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. provides for severe criminal punishment of individuals who induce others to use drugs. The punishment is stiffer if minors are involved.

Medical institutions are under strict instructions to report all addicts approaching them for the first time to the narcological dispensaries in the area of the addict's residence. A file will be opened and everything will be done to cure this individual at the early stage. I can add that the faulty practice of providing addicts with a "mercy dose" has long been banned in this country.

All this yields tangible results, but we are far from being complacent.

It is an alarming fact that the problem of drug addiction is not yet being adequately tackled at the international level. We are aware that this evil should be attacked on a world scale, combining national and international measures.

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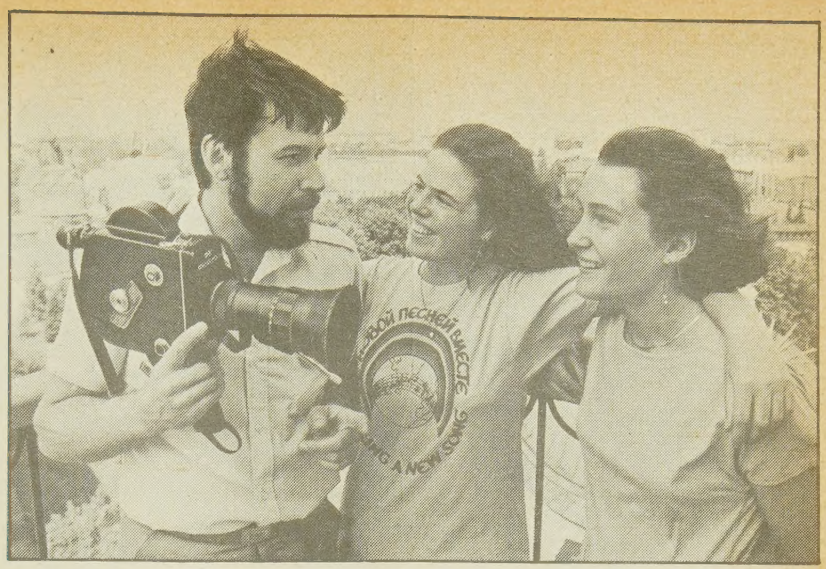


Boston Choir in the U.S.S.R.

Our sports papers sometimes speak of Boston as the home town of the Boston Bruins ice-hockey team. For anyone who knows anything about American history it is associated with the Boston Tea Party which triggered off the "tea war" between the American settlers and Britain. Boston, however, is also famous for America's best fine arts museum which carefully preserves the American folk tradition and is interested in the culture of other peoples.

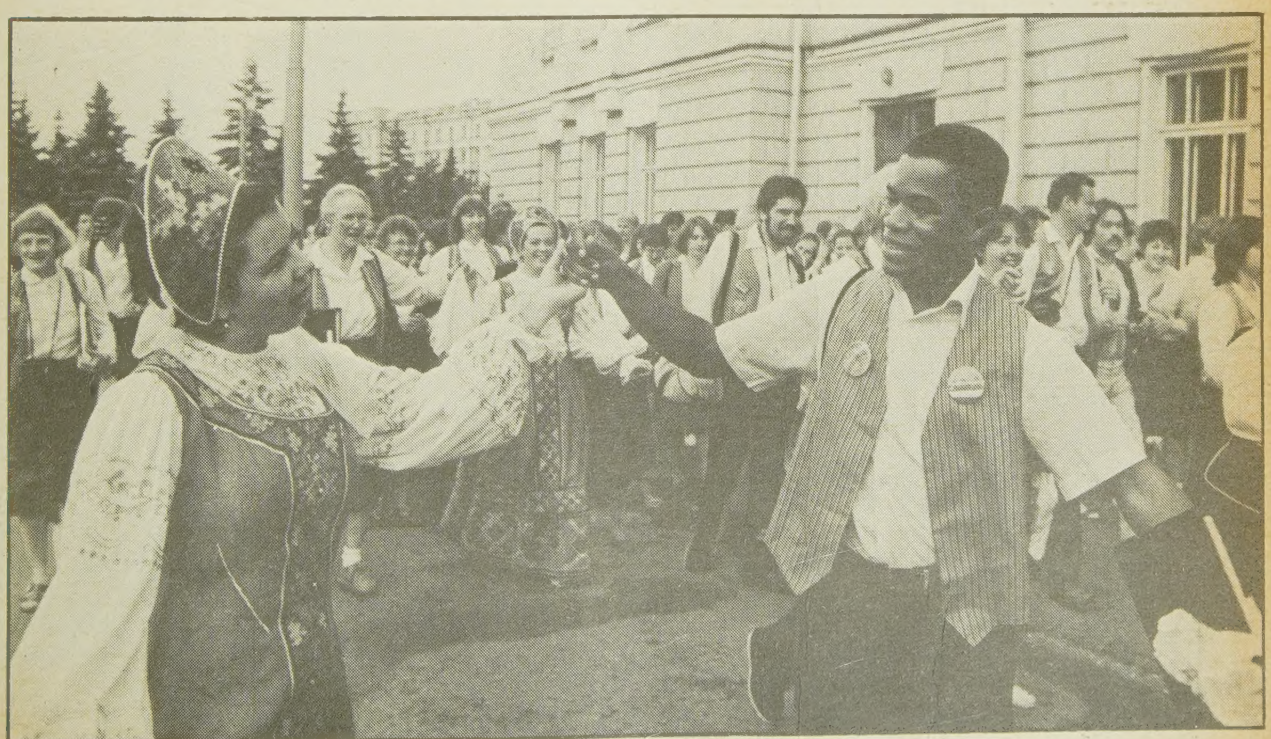
In 1984 Boston formed a folk choir called Bring a New Song with the special object of touring the Soviet Union. That same year the Bostonians visited Yaroslavl, a town where Russian national culture and folk choral tradition had their beginnings. During the visit an exchange of sheet music and lyrics began which continued by mail. In July 1986 Bring a New Song visited Yaroslavl again. In honour of the American friends, a festival was staged under the motto "I believe in tomorrow." In a tomorrow without wars and nuclear blasts. A tomorrow when difference of social systems would no longer be an obstacle to cultural exchanges between nations.

Since the agreement on contacts and exchanges signed by the Soviet and American leaders in Geneva in 1985, the Soviet Union has already played host to many American performers and artistes. The Yaroslavl festival at which the people of the two countries joined in a single choir was a harbinger of a peaceful future.

● **Andrei Flegontov, a cybernetics engineer from Yaroslavl, has made a film of the song-fest. It features, among others, American school students Maria Steinmann and Alison Foote.**

● **Boston student John Layton joins a Russian round dance.**

TASS photos



INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Photos by Julio GONZALEZ ROMEU (Cuba)

Bumper crop.

An early start.

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